

**YOU CAN'T ALWAYS GET WHAT YOU WANT:
WHY FOREIGN-IMPOSED REGIME CHANGE SELDOM IMPROVES INTERSTATE RELATIONS¹
SUPPLEMENTAL MATERIALS**

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APPENDIX A: REGRESSION OUTPUT (AND CODE) USED TO PRODUCE FIGURES 1-3

Table A1. Probit Models of Types of Foreign-Imposed Regime Change (FIRC) and Initiation of Militarized Interstate Disputes, 1816-2000

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Overt FIRC	-0.05 (0.10)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Overt Leadership FIRC	-	0.26* (0.11)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Overt Institutional FIRC	-	-0.48 (0.37)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Overt Restoration FIRC	-	-0.89** (0.34)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ongoing Covert FIRC	-	-	0.56*** (0.13)	-	-	-	-	-	-
Covert FIRC	-	-	-	0.41*** (0.09)	-	-	-	-	-
Covert Leadership FIRC	-	-	-	-	0.40*** (0.10)	-	-	-	-
Covert Institutional FIRC	-	-	-	-	0.44* (0.22)	-	-	-	-
Successful Covert FIRC	-	-	-	-	-	-0.00 (0.25)	-	-	-
Successful Covert Leadership FIRC	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.05 (0.25)	-	-
Failed Covert FIRC	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.53*** (0.09)	-
Failed Covert Leadership FIRC	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.49*** (0.11)
Failed Covert Institutional FIRC	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.73*** (0.16)
Material Capabilities, Side A	1.75*** (0.26)	1.77*** (0.26)	1.69*** (0.26)	1.72*** (0.26)	1.72*** (0.26)	1.74*** (0.26)	1.74*** (0.26)	1.72*** (0.26)	1.72*** (0.26)
Material Capabilities, Side B	1.50*** (0.29)	1.51*** (0.29)	1.43*** (0.29)	1.46*** (0.29)	1.47*** (0.29)	1.50*** (0.29)	1.50*** (0.29)	1.47*** (0.29)	1.47*** (0.29)
Side A's Proportion of Dyadic Capabilities	0.16** (0.05)	0.16** (0.05)	0.16** (0.05)	0.16** (0.05)	0.16** (0.05)	0.16** (0.05)	0.16** (0.05)	0.16** (0.05)	0.16** (0.05)
Dyadic S Score	-0.10* (0.05)	-0.10* (0.05)	-0.10* (0.05)	-0.10* (0.05)	-0.10* (0.05)	-0.11* (0.05)	-0.11* (0.05)	-0.09* (0.05)	-0.09* (0.05)

Side A's <i>S</i> Score with System Leader	-0.03 (0.07)	-0.03 (0.07)	-0.03 (0.07)	-0.03 (0.07)	-0.03 (0.07)	-0.03 (0.07)	-0.03 (0.07)	-0.03 (0.07)	-0.03 (0.07)
Side B's <i>S</i> Score with System Leader	0.05 (0.07)	0.05 (0.07)	0.06 (0.07)	0.05 (0.07)	0.05 (0.07)	0.05 (0.07)	0.05 (0.07)	0.05 (0.07)	0.05 (0.07)
Logged Distance between Capitals	-0.09*** (0.00)	-0.09*** (0.00)	-0.09*** (0.00)	-0.09*** (0.00)	-0.09*** (0.00)	-0.09*** (0.00)	-0.09*** (0.00)	-0.09*** (0.00)	-0.09*** (0.00)
Democracy, Side A	0.09* (0.04)	0.09* (0.04)	0.09* (0.04)	0.09* (0.04)	0.09* (0.04)	0.09* (0.04)	0.09* (0.04)	0.09* (0.04)	0.09* (0.04)
Democracy, Side B	0.14*** (0.04)	0.14*** (0.04)	0.14** (0.04)	0.14** (0.04)	0.14** (0.04)	0.14** (0.04)	0.14** (0.04)	0.14** (0.04)	0.14** (0.04)
Joint Democracy	-0.48*** (0.06)	-0.47*** (0.06)	-0.47*** (0.06)	-0.47*** (0.06)	-0.47*** (0.06)	-0.48*** (0.06)	-0.48*** (0.06)	-0.47*** (0.06)	-0.47*** (0.06)
Constant	-1.49*** (0.07)	-1.49*** (0.07)	-1.49*** (0.07)	-1.49*** (0.07)	-1.49*** (0.07)	-1.49*** (0.07)	-1.49*** (0.07)	-1.50*** (0.07)	-1.50*** (0.07)
Wald Chi2	1135.91***	1157.72***	1168.38	1147.58	1146.84	1135.41	1135.50	1162.86	1165.86
Pseudo-R2	0.13	0.13	0.13	0.13	0.13	0.13	0.13	0.13	0.13
Log pseudo-likelihood	-10000.08	-9987.16	-9986.98	-9991.15	-9991.80	-10000.29	-10000.27	-9987.74	-9988.28

Note: N for all models is 180,498. Robust standard errors clustered on dyads in parentheses. Included in all models but not shown is a variable that counts the number of years since the last MID in a dyad, as well as three cubic splines, to account for temporal dependence.

* p < 0.05; ** p < 0.01; *** p < 0.001.

Code for Table A1

```
probit cwinit ovfirc10 cap_1 cap_2 capshare_1 s_wt_glo s_ld_1 s_ld_2 lndistance democracy1
democracy2 democracy1_2 peaceyrs _spline1 _spline2 _spline3, robust cluster(dyad_id)

probit cwinit ovleaderfirc10 ovinstfirc10 ovrestfirc10 cap_1 cap_2 capshare_1 s_wt_glo s_ld_1
s_ld_2 lndistance democracy1 democracy2 democracy1_2 peaceyrs _spline1 _spline2 _spline3, robust
cluster(dyad_id)

probit cwinit covertfirc cap_1 cap_2 capshare_1 s_wt_glo s_ld_1 s_ld_2 lndistance democracy1
democracy2 democracy1_2 peaceyrs _spline1 _spline2 _spline3, robust cluster(dyad_id)

probit cwinit covfirc10 cap_1 cap_2 capshare_1 s_wt_glo s_ld_1 s_ld_2 lndistance democracy1
democracy2 democracy1_2 peaceyrs _spline1 _spline2 _spline3, robust cluster(dyad_id)

probit cwinit covleaderfirc10 covinstfirc10 cap_1 cap_2 capshare_1 s_wt_glo s_ld_1 s_ld_2
lndistance democracy1 democracy2 democracy1_2 peaceyrs _spline1 _spline2 _spline3, robust
cluster(dyad_id)

probit cwinit covfircsucc10 cap_1 cap_2 capshare_1 s_wt_glo s_ld_1 s_ld_2 lndistance democracy1
democracy2 democracy1_2 peaceyrs _spline1 _spline2 _spline3, robust cluster(dyad_id)

probit cwinit covleadfircsucc10 cap_1 cap_2 capshare_1 s_wt_glo s_ld_1 s_ld_2 lndistance
democracy1 democracy2 democracy1_2 peaceyrs _spline1 _spline2 _spline3, robust cluster(dyad_id)

probit cwinit covfircfail10 cap_1 cap_2 capshare_1 s_wt_glo s_ld_1 s_ld_2 lndistance democracy1
democracy2 democracy1_2 peaceyrs _spline1 _spline2 _spline3, robust cluster(dyad_id)

probit cwinit covleadfircfail10 covinstfircfail10 cap_1 cap_2 capshare_1 s_wt_glo s_ld_1 s_ld_2
lndistance democracy1 democracy2 democracy1_2 peaceyrs _spline1 _spline2 _spline3, robust
cluster(dyad_id)
```

APPENDIX B: SIMULATIONS (AND CODE) USED TO PRODUCE SUBSTANTIVE EFFECTS IN FIGURES 1-3

OVERT FIRC, 10 YEARS

```
estsimp probit cwinit ovfirc10 cap_1 cap_2 capshare_1 s_wt_glo s_ld_1 s_ld_2 lndistance
democracy1 democracy2 democracy1_2 peaceyrs _spline1 _spline2 _spline3, robust cluster(dyad_id)
```

```
setx ovfirc10 0 cap_1 mean cap_2 mean capshare_1 mean s_wt_glo mean s_ld_1 mean s_ld_2 mean
lndistance mean democracy1 0 democracy2 0 democracy1_2 0 peaceyrs mean _spline1 mean _spline2
mean _spline3 mean
```

```
simqi, prval(1)
```

Quantity of Interest	Mean	Std. Err.	[95% Conf. Interval]	
Pr(cwinit=1)	.0061936	.0004648	.0052818	.0071258

```
setx ovfirc10 1 cap_1 mean cap_2 mean capshare_1 mean s_wt_glo mean s_ld_1 mean s_ld_2 mean
lndistance mean democracy1 0 democracy2 0 democracy1_2 0 peaceyrs mean _spline1 mean _spline2
mean _spline3 mean
```

```
simqi, prval(1)
```

Quantity of Interest	Mean	Std. Err.	[95% Conf. Interval]	
Pr(cwinit=1)	.0055775	.001785	.0027931	.0097877

```
simqi, fd(prval(1)) changex(ovfirc10 0 1)
```

```
First Difference: ovfirc10 0 1
```

Quantity of Interest	Mean	Std. Err.	[95% Conf. Interval]	
dPr(cwinit = 1)	-.0006161	.0016232	-.0032198	.0031085

OVERT FIRC, 10 YEARS: LEADERSHIP, INSTITUTIONAL, AND RESTORATION

```
estsimp probit cwinit ovleaderfirc10 ovinstfirc10 ovrestfirc10 cap_1 cap_2 capshare_1 s_wt_glo
s_ld_1 s_ld_2 lndistance democracy1 democracy2 democracy1_2 peaceyrs _spline1 _spline2 _spline3,
robust cluster(dyad_id)
```

Leadership FIRC

```
setx ovleaderfirc10 0 ovinstfirc10 0 ovrestfirc10 0 cap_1 mean cap_2 mean capshare_1 mean
s_wt_glo mean s_ld_1 mean s_ld_2 mean lndistance mean democracy1 0 democracy2 0 democracy1_2 0
peaceyrs mean _spline1 mean _spline2 mean _spline3 mean
```

simqi, prval(1)

Quantity of Interest	Mean	Std. Err.	[95% Conf. Interval]	
Pr(cwinit=1)	.0062002	.0004653	.0053233	.0071445

```
setx ovleaderfirc10 1 ovinstfirc10 0 ovrestfirc10 0 cap_1 mean cap_2 mean capshare_1 mean
s_wt_glo mean s_ld_1 mean s_ld_2 mean lndistance mean democracy1 0 democracy2 0 democracy1_2 0
peaceyrs mean _spline1 mean _spline2 mean _spline3 mean
```

simqi, prval(1)

Quantity of Interest	Mean	Std. Err.	[95% Conf. Interval]	
Pr(cwinit=1)	.0131888	.0039567	.0065461	.0220683

simqi, fd(prval(1)) changex(ovleaderfirc10 0 1)

First Difference: ovleaderfirc10 0 1

Quantity of Interest	Mean	Std. Err.	[95% Conf. Interval]	
dPr(cwinit = 1)	.0069886	.0038008	.0005254	.0153229

Institutional FIRC

```
setx ovleaderfirc10 0 ovinstfirc10 1 ovrestfirc10 0 cap_1 mean cap_2 mean capshare_1 mean
s_wt_glo mean s_ld_1 mean s_ld_2 mean lndistance mean democracy1 0 democracy2 0 democracy1_2 0
peaceyrs mean _spline1 mean _spline2 mean _spline3 mean
```

simqi, prval(1)

Quantity of Interest	Mean	Std. Err.	[95% Conf. Interval]	
Pr(cwinit=1)	.0025516	.0034821	.0001014	.0120971

simqi, fd(prval(1)) changex(ovinstfirc10 0 1)

First Difference: ovinstfirc10 0 1

Quantity of Interest	Mean	Std. Err.	[95% Conf. Interval]	
dPr(cwinit = 1)	-.0036486	.0034906	-.0064822	.0057284

Restoration FIRC

```
setx ovleaderfirc10 0 ovinstfirc10 0 ovrestfirc10 1 cap_1 mean cap_2 mean capshare_1 mean
s_wt_glo mean s_ld_1 mean s_ld_2 mean lndistance mean democracy1 0 democracy2 0 democracy1_2 0
peaceyrs mean _spline1 mean _spline2 mean _spline3 mean
```

simqi, prval(1)

Quantity of Interest	Mean	Std. Err.	[95% Conf. Interval]	
Pr(cwinit=1)	.000631	.0008934	.0000255	.0032094

simqi, fd(prval(1)) changex(ovrestfirc10 0 1)

First Difference: ovrestfirc10 0 1

Quantity of Interest	Mean	Std. Err.	[95% Conf. Interval]	
dPr(cwinit = 1)	-.0055692	.0010132	-.0068686	-.0029905

COVERT FIRC

Ongoing Covert FIRC

estsimp probit cwinit covertfirc cap_1 cap_2 capshare_1 s_wt_glo s_ld_1 s_ld_2 lndistance
democracy1 democracy2 democracy1_2 peaceyrs _spline1 _spline2 _spline3, robust cluster(dyad_id)

setx covertfirc 0 cap_1 mean cap_2 mean capshare_1 mean s_wt_glo mean s_ld_1 mean s_ld_2 mean
lndistance mean democracy1 0 democracy2 0 democracy1_2 0 peaceyrs mean _spline1 mean _spline2
mean _spline3 mean

simqi, prval(1)

Quantity of Interest	Mean	Std. Err.	[95% Conf. Interval]	
Pr(cwinit=1)	.0061718	.0004703	.0052836	.0071704

setx covertfirc 1 cap_1 mean cap_2 mean capshare_1 mean s_wt_glo mean s_ld_1 mean s_ld_2 mean
lndistance mean democracy1 0 democracy2 0 democracy1_2 0 peaceyrs mean _spline1 mean _spline2
mean _spline3 mean

simqi, prval(1)

Quantity of Interest	Mean	Std. Err.	[95% Conf. Interval]	
Pr(cwinit=1)	.0268266	.0081426	.0137378	.0450936

simqi, fd(prval(1)) changex(covertfirc 0 1)

First Difference: covertfirc 0 1

Quantity of Interest	Mean	Std. Err.	[95% Conf. Interval]	
dPr(cwinit = 1)	.0206548	.008088	.0076599	.0388105

Covert FIRC (All): Up to 10 Years after End of Operation

estsimp probit cwinit covfirc10 cap_1 cap_2 capshare_1 s_wt_glo s_ld_1 s_ld_2 lndistance
democracy1 democracy2 democracy1_2 peaceyrs _spline1 _spline2 _spline3, robust cluster(dyad_id)

setx covfirc10 0 cap_1 mean cap_2 mean capshare_1 mean s_wt_glo mean s_ld_1 mean s_ld_2 mean
lndistance mean democracy1 0 democracy2 0 democracy1_2 0 peaceyrs mean _spline1 mean _spline2
mean _spline3 mean

simqi, prval(1)

Quantity of Interest	Mean	Std. Err.	[95% Conf. Interval]	
Pr(cwinit=1)	.0061545	.0004642	.0052956	.0070665

setx covfirc10 1 cap_1 mean cap_2 mean capshare_1 mean s_wt_glo mean s_ld_1 mean s_ld_2 mean
lndistance mean democracy1 0 democracy2 0 democracy1_2 0 peaceyrs mean _spline1 mean _spline2
mean _spline3 mean

simqi, prval(1)

Quantity of Interest	Mean	Std. Err.	[95% Conf. Interval]	
Pr(cwinit=1)	.0186436	.0039965	.0119503	.0274288

simqi, fd(prval(1)) changex(covfirc10 0 1)

First Difference: covfirc10 0 1

Quantity of Interest	Mean	Std. Err.	[95% Conf. Interval]	
dPr(cwinit = 1)	.0124892	.003942	.0059871	.0209249

Covert Leadership and Institutional FIRC, Up to 10 Years after End of Operation

```
estsimp probit cwinit covleaderfirc10 covinstfirc10 cap_1 cap_2 capshare_1 s_wt_glo s_ld_1 s_ld_2
lndistance democracy1 democracy2 democracy1_2 peaceyrs _spline1 _spline2 _spline3, robust
cluster(dyad_id)
```

```
setx covleaderfirc10 0 covinstfirc10 0 cap_1 mean cap_2 mean capshare_1 mean s_wt_glo mean s_ld_1
mean s_ld_2 mean lndistance mean democracy1 0 democracy2 0 democracy1_2 0 peaceyrs mean _spline1
mean _spline2 mean _spline3 mean
```

simqi, prval(1)

Quantity of Interest	Mean	Std. Err.	[95% Conf. Interval]	
Pr(cwinit=1)	.0061769	.0004649	.0053191	.0070758

Covert Leadership FIRC

```
setx covleaderfirc10 1 covinstfirc10 0 cap_1 mean cap_2 mean capshare_1 mean s_wt_glo mean s_ld_1
mean s_ld_2 mean lndistance mean democracy1 0 democracy2 0 democracy1_2 0 peaceyrs mean _spline1
mean _spline2 mean _spline3 mean
```

simqi, prval(1)

Quantity of Interest	Mean	Std. Err.	[95% Conf. Interval]	
Pr(cwinit=1)	.0179983	.0044117	.0103052	.0274737

simqi, fd(prval(1)) changex(covleaderfirc10 0 1)

First Difference: covleaderfirc10 0 1

Quantity of Interest	Mean	Std. Err.	[95% Conf. Interval]	
dPr(cwinit = 1)	.0118215	.0043234	.0044224	.0208937

Covert Institutional FIRC

```
setx covleaderfirc10 0 covinstfirc10 1 cap_1 mean cap_2 mean capshare_1 mean s_wt_glo mean s_ld_1
mean s_ld_2 mean lndistance mean democracy1 0 democracy2 0 democracy1_2 0 peaceyrs mean _spline1
mean _spline2 mean _spline3 mean
```

simqi, prval(1)

Quantity of Interest	Mean	Std. Err.	[95% Conf. Interval]	
Pr(cwinit=1)	.0220627	.0114908	.0061723	.0506554

simqi, fd(prval(1)) changex(covinstfirc10 0 1)

First Difference: covinstfirc10 0 1

Quantity of Interest	Mean	Std. Err.	[95% Conf. Interval]	
dPr(cwinit = 1)	.0158858	.0114836	.0001299	.0444534

SUCCESSFUL AND FAILED COVERT FIRC

Successful Covert FIRC, Up to 10 Years after End of Operation

```
estsimp probit cwinit covfircsucc10 cap_1 cap_2 capshare_1 s_wt_glo s_ld_1 s_ld_2 lndistance  
democracy1 democracy2 democracy1_2 peaceyrs _spline1 _spline2 _spline3, robust cluster(dyad_id)
```

```
setx covfircsucc10 0 cap_1 mean cap_2 mean capshare_1 mean s_wt_glo mean s_ld_1 mean s_ld_2 mean  
lndistance mean democracy1 0 democracy2 0 democracy1_2 0 peaceyrs mean _spline1 mean _spline2  
mean _spline3 mean
```

simqi, prval(1)

Quantity of Interest	Mean	Std. Err.	[95% Conf. Interval]
Pr(cwinit=1)	.0061977	.0004717	.005311 .0072043

```
setx covfircsucc10 1 cap_1 mean cap_2 mean capshare_1 mean s_wt_glo mean s_ld_1 mean s_ld_2 mean  
lndistance mean democracy1 0 democracy2 0 democracy1_2 0 peaceyrs mean _spline1 mean _spline2  
mean _spline3 mean
```

simqi, prval(1)

Quantity of Interest	Mean	Std. Err.	[95% Conf. Interval]
Pr(cwinit=1)	.0074894	.0054473	.0012927 .0224882

simqi, fd(prval(1)) changex(covfircsucc10 0 1)

First Difference: covfircsucc10 0 1

Quantity of Interest	Mean	Std. Err.	[95% Conf. Interval]
dPr(cwinit = 1)	.0012917	.0054524	-.0050906 .0166469

Successful Covert Leadership FIRC (there no MIDs after successful covert institutional FIRC), Up to 10 Years after End of Operation

```
estsimp probit cwinit covleadfircsucc10 cap_1 cap_2 capshare_1 s_wt_glo s_ld_1 s_ld_2 lndistance  
democracy1 democracy2 democracy1_2 peaceyrs _spline1 _spline2 _spline3, robust cluster(dyad_id)
```

```
setx covleadfircsucc10 0 cap_1 mean cap_2 mean capshare_1 mean s_wt_glo mean s_ld_1 mean s_ld_2  
mean lndistance mean democracy1 0 democracy2 0 democracy1_2 0 peaceyrs mean _spline1 mean  
_spline2 mean _spline3 mean
```

simqi, prval(1)

Quantity of Interest	Mean	Std. Err.	[95% Conf. Interval]
Pr(cwinit=1)	.0061969	.0004713	.0053375 .0071472

```
setx covleadfircsucc10 1 cap_1 mean cap_2 mean capshare_1 mean s_wt_glo mean s_ld_1 mean s_ld_2  
mean lndistance mean democracy1 0 democracy2 0 democracy1_2 0 peaceyrs mean _spline1 mean  
_spline2 mean _spline3 mean
```

simqi, prval(1)

Quantity of Interest	Mean	Std. Err.	[95% Conf. Interval]
Pr(cwinit=1)	.0090998	.0063909	.0019999 .0265359

simqi, fd(prval(1)) changex(covleadfircsucc10 0 1)

First Difference: covleadfircsucc10 0 1

Quantity of Interest	Mean	Std. Err.	[95% Conf. Interval]
dPr(cwinit = 1)	.002903	.0064004	-.0043254 .0197514

Failed Covert FIRC, Up to 10 Years after End of Operation

estsimp probit cwinit covfircfail10 cap_1 cap_2 capshare_1 s_wt_glo s_ld_1 s_ld_2 lndistance
 democracy1 democracy2 democracy1_2 peaceyrs _spline1 _spline2 _spline3, robust cluster(dyad_id)

setx covfircfail10 0 cap_1 mean cap_2 mean capshare_1 mean s_wt_glo mean s_ld_1 mean s_ld_2 mean
 lndistance mean democracy1 0 democracy2 0 democracy1_2 0 peaceyrs mean _spline1 mean _spline2
 mean _spline3 mean

simqi, prval(1)

Quantity of Interest	Mean	Std. Err.	[95% Conf. Interval]	
Pr(cwinit=1)	.0061898	.0004513	.0053351	.0070961

setx covfircfail10 1 cap_1 mean cap_2 mean capshare_1 mean s_wt_glo mean s_ld_1 mean s_ld_2 mean
 lndistance mean democracy1 0 democracy2 0 democracy1_2 0 peaceyrs mean _spline1 mean _spline2
 mean _spline3 mean

simqi, prval(1)

Quantity of Interest	Mean	Std. Err.	[95% Conf. Interval]	
Pr(cwinit=1)	.0248862	.0054298	.0160188	.0366561

simqi, fd(prval(1)) changex(covfircfail10 0 1)

First Difference: covfircfail10 0 1

Quantity of Interest	Mean	Std. Err.	[95% Conf. Interval]	
dPr(cwinit = 1)	.0186964	.0053561	.010072	.0301913

Failed Covert Leadership and Institutional FIRC, Up to 10 Years after End of Operation

estsimp probit cwinit covleadfircfail10 covinstfircfail10 cap_1 cap_2 capshare_1 s_wt_glo s_ld_1
 s_ld_2 lndistance democracy1 democracy2 democracy1_2 peaceyrs _spline1 _spline2 _spline3, robust
 cluster(dyad_id)

simqi, prval(1)

Quantity of Interest	Mean	Std. Err.	[95% Conf. Interval]	
Pr(cwinit=1)	.0061969	.0004558	.0053349	.0071219

Failed Covert Leadership FIRC

setx covleadfircfail10 1 covinstfircfail10 0 cap_1 mean cap_2 mean capshare_1 mean s_wt_glo mean
 s_ld_1 mean s_ld_2 mean lndistance mean democracy1 0 democracy2 0 democracy1_2 0 peaceyrs mean
 _spline1 mean _spline2 mean _spline3 mean

simqi, prval(1)

Quantity of Interest	Mean	Std. Err.	[95% Conf. Interval]	
Pr(cwinit=1)	.0223733	.0056343	.0132347	.0353836

simqi, fd(prval(1)) changex(covleadfircfail10 0 1)

First Difference: covleadfircfail10 0 1

Quantity of Interest	Mean	Std. Err.	[95% Conf. Interval]	
dPr(cwinit = 1)	.0161764	.0055738	.0072658	.0289882

Failed Covert Institutional FIRC

setx covleadfircfail10 0 covinstfircfail10 1 cap_1 mean cap_2 mean capshare_1 mean s_wt_glo mean
 s_ld_1 mean s_ld_2 mean lndistance mean democracy1 0 democracy2 0 democracy1_2 0 peaceyrs mean
 _spline1 mean _spline2 mean _spline3 mean

simqi, prval(1)

Quantity of Interest	Mean	Std. Err.	[95% Conf. Interval]	
Pr(cwinit=1)	.0402609	.0145944	.0190128	.0717643

simqi, fd(prval(1)) changex(covinstfircfail10 0 1)

First Difference: covinstfircfail10 0 1

Quantity of Interest	Mean	Std. Err.	[95% Conf. Interval]	
dPr(cwinit = 1)	.034064	.0145507	.0127732	.0658359

Code for Figures 1-3

Figure 1. Overt Foreign-Imposed Regime Change (FIRC) and the Probability of Militarized Interstate Disputes (MIDs)

Using the dataset "Overt FIRC MFX Data Final.dta"

```
twoway (bar mean fftype if firc==0, fcolor(blue) lcolor(black)) (bar mean fftype if firc==1,
fcolor(gray) lcolor(black)) (rcap upper lower fftype), legend( order(1 "no FIRC" 2 "FIRC") )
xlabel( 0.5 "overt (all)" 3.5 "leadership" 6.5 "institutional" 9.5 "restoration", noticks)
xtitle("type of overt FIRC") ylabel(0 0.005 0.01 0.015 0.02 0.025) ytitle("MID probability")
```

Figure 2. Covert Foreign-Imposed Regime Change (FIRC) and the Probability of Militarized Interstate Disputes (MIDs)

Using the dataset "Covert FIRC MFX Data Final.dta"

```
twoway (bar mean fftype if firc==0, fcolor(blue) lcolor(black)) (bar mean fftype if firc==1,
fcolor(gray) lcolor(black)) (rcap upper lower fftype), legend( order(1 "no FIRC" 2 "FIRC") )
xlabel( 0.5 "ongoing (all)" 3.5 "concluded (all)" 6.5 "leadership" 9.5 "institutional", noticks)
labsize(medsmall) xtitle("type of covert FIRC") ytitle("MID probability")
```

Figure 3. Successful and Failed Covert Foreign-Imposed Regime Change (FIRC) and the Probability of Militarized Interstate Disputes (MIDs)

Using the dataset "Covert FIRC Succfail MFX Data Final.dta"

```
twoway (bar mean fftype if firc==0, fcolor(blue) lcolor(black)) (bar mean fftype if firc==1,
fcolor(gray) lcolor(black)) (rcap upper lower fftype), legend( order(1 "no FIRC" 2 "FIRC") )
xlabel( 0.5 "successful (all)" 3.5 "successful leadership" 6.5 "failed (all)" 9.5 "failed
leadership" 12.5 "failed institutional", noticks labsize(small)) xtitle("type of covert FIRC")
ytitle("MID probability")
```

APPENDIX C: RESULTS VARYING TREATMENT LENGTH OF FIRC

5-YEAR TREATMENT

Table C1. Overt FIRC, All MIDs, 5 Years

	(1)	(2)
	cwinit	cwinit
ovfirc5	-0.07 (0.11)	
ovleaderfirc5		0.25* (0.12)
ovinstfirc5		-0.30 (0.39)
cap_1	1.75*** (0.26)	1.75*** (0.26)
cap_2	1.50*** (0.29)	1.50*** (0.29)
capshare_1	0.16** (0.05)	0.16** (0.05)
s_wt_glo	-0.10* (0.05)	-0.11* (0.05)
s_ld_1	-0.03 (0.07)	-0.03 (0.07)
s_ld_2	0.05 (0.07)	0.05 (0.07)
lndistance	-0.09*** (0.00)	-0.09*** (0.00)
democracy1	0.09* (0.04)	0.09* (0.04)
democracy2	0.14*** (0.04)	0.14*** (0.04)
democracy1_2	-0.48*** (0.06)	-0.48*** (0.06)
peaceyrs	-0.09*** (0.01)	-0.09*** (0.01)
_spline1	-0.00*** (0.00)	-0.00*** (0.00)
_spline2	0.00*** (0.00)	0.00*** (0.00)
_spline3	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)
_cons	-1.49*** (0.07)	-1.49*** (0.07)
N	180498	180498
pseudo R-sq	0.133	0.133

Standard errors in parentheses

+ p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001

Code for Table C1

```
eststo M1: probit cwinit ovfirc5 cap_1 cap_2 capshare_1 s_wt_glo s_ld_1 s_ld_2 lndistance  
democracy1 democracy2 democracy1_2 peaceyrs _spline1 _spline2 _spline3, robust cluster(dyad_id)  
  
#ovrestfirc5 perfectly predicts zero.  
  
eststo M2: probit cwinit ovleaderfirc5 ovinstfirc5 cap_1 cap_2 capshare_1 s_wt_glo s_ld_1 s_ld_2  
lndistance democracy1 democracy2 democracy1_2 peaceyrs _spline1 _spline2 _spline3, robust  
cluster(dyad_id)  
  
esttab M1 M2 using ovinst5.tab, se(2) pr2 b(2) star(+ 0.10 * 0.05 ** 0.01 *** 0.001)  
order(ovfirc5 ovleaderfirc5 ovinstfirc5)
```

Table C2. Covert FIRC, All MIDs, 5 Years

	(1) cwinit	(2) cwinit
covfirc5	0.34** (0.12)	
covleaderfirc5		0.31* (0.13)
covinstfirc5		0.46 (0.36)
cap_1	1.73*** (0.26)	1.73*** (0.26)
cap_2	1.48*** (0.29)	1.48*** (0.29)
capshare_1	0.16** (0.05)	0.16** (0.05)
s_wt_glo	-0.10* (0.05)	-0.10* (0.05)
s_ld_1	-0.03 (0.07)	-0.03 (0.07)
s_ld_2	0.05 (0.07)	0.05 (0.07)
lndistance	-0.09*** (0.00)	-0.09*** (0.00)
democracy1	0.09* (0.04)	0.09* (0.04)
democracy2	0.14*** (0.04)	0.14*** (0.04)
democracy1_2	-0.47*** (0.06)	-0.47*** (0.06)
peaceyrs	-0.09*** (0.01)	-0.09*** (0.01)
_spline1	-0.00*** (0.00)	-0.00*** (0.00)
_spline2	0.00*** (0.00)	0.00*** (0.00)
_spline3	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)
_cons	-1.49*** (0.07)	-1.49*** (0.07)
N	180498	180498
pseudo R-sq	0.133	0.133

Standard errors in parentheses

+ p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001

Code for Table C2

```
eststo M1: probit cwinit covfirc5 cap_1 cap_2 capshare_1 s_wt_glo s_ld_1 s_ld_2 lndistance  
democracy1 democracy2 democracy1_2 peaceyrs _spline1 _spline2 _spline3, robust cluster(dyad_id)
```

```
eststo M2: probit cwinit covleaderfirc5 covinstfirc5 cap_1 cap_2 capshare_1 s_wt_glo s_ld_1  
s_ld_2 lndistance democracy1 democracy2 democracy1_2 peaceyrs _spline1 _spline2 _spline3, robust  
cluster(dyad_id)
```

```
esttab M1 M2 using covf5.tab, se(2) pr2 b(2) star(+ 0.10 * 0.05 ** 0.01 *** 0.001) order(covfirc5  
covleaderfirc5 covinstfirc5)
```

Table C3. Covert FIRC, Successes and Failures, All MIDs, 5 Years

	(1) cwinit	(2) cwinit	(3) cwinit	(4) cwinit
covfircsucc5	-0.07 (0.36)			
covleadfircsucc5		-0.02 (0.37)		
covfircfail5			0.49*** (0.13)	
covleadfircfail5				0.39** (0.15)
covinstfircfail5				0.88*** (0.26)
cap_1	1.74*** (0.26)	1.74*** (0.26)	1.73*** (0.26)	1.73*** (0.26)
cap_2	1.50*** (0.29)	1.50*** (0.29)	1.48*** (0.29)	1.49*** (0.29)
capshare_1	0.16** (0.05)	0.16** (0.05)	0.16** (0.05)	0.16** (0.05)
s_wt_glo	-0.11* (0.05)	-0.11* (0.05)	-0.10* (0.05)	-0.10* (0.05)
s_ld_1	-0.03 (0.07)	-0.03 (0.07)	-0.03 (0.07)	-0.03 (0.07)
s_ld_2	0.05 (0.07)	0.05 (0.07)	0.05 (0.07)	0.05 (0.07)
lndistance	-0.09*** (0.00)	-0.09*** (0.00)	-0.09*** (0.00)	-0.09*** (0.00)
democracy1	0.09* (0.04)	0.09* (0.04)	0.09* (0.04)	0.09* (0.04)
democracy2	0.14*** (0.04)	0.14*** (0.04)	0.14*** (0.04)	0.14*** (0.04)
democracy1_2	-0.48*** (0.06)	-0.48*** (0.06)	-0.47*** (0.06)	-0.47*** (0.06)
peaceyrs	-0.09*** (0.01)	-0.09*** (0.01)	-0.09*** (0.01)	-0.09*** (0.01)
_spline1	-0.00*** (0.00)	-0.00*** (0.00)	-0.00*** (0.00)	-0.00*** (0.00)
_spline2	0.00*** (0.00)	0.00*** (0.00)	0.00*** (0.00)	0.00*** (0.00)
_spline3	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)
_cons	-1.49*** (0.07)	-1.49*** (0.07)	-1.49*** (0.07)	-1.49*** (0.07)
N	180498	180498	180498	180498
pseudo R-sq	0.133	0.133	0.133	0.133

Standard errors in parentheses

+ p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001

Code for Table C3

```
eststo M1: probit cwinit covfircsucc5 cap_1 cap_2 capshare_1 s_wt_glo s_ld_1 s_ld_2 lndistance  
democracy1 democracy2 democracy1_2 peaceyrs _spline1 _spline2 _spline3, robust cluster(dyad_id)
```

```
eststo M2: probit cwinit covleadfircsucc5 cap_1 cap_2 capshare_1 s_wt_glo s_ld_1 s_ld_2  
lndistance democracy1 democracy2 democracy1_2 peaceyrs _spline1 _spline2 _spline3, robust  
cluster(dyad_id)
```

```
eststo M3: probit cwinit covfircfail5 cap_1 cap_2 capshare_1 s_wt_glo s_ld_1 s_ld_2 lndistance  
democracy1 democracy2 democracy1_2 peaceyrs _spline1 _spline2 _spline3, robust cluster(dyad_id)
```

```
eststo M4: probit cwinit covleadfircfail5 covinstfircfail5 cap_1 cap_2 capshare_1 s_wt_glo s_ld_1  
s_ld_2 lndistance democracy1 democracy2 democracy1_2 peaceyrs _spline1 _spline2 _spline3, robust  
cluster(dyad_id)
```

```
esttab M1 M2 M3 M4 using covfail5.tab, se(2) pr2 b(2) star(+ 0.10 * 0.05 ** 0.01 *** 0.001)  
order(covfircsucc5 covleadfircsucc5 covfircfail5 covleadfircfail5 covinstfircfail5)
```


Code for Table C4

```
eststo M1: probit cwinit ovfirccall cap_1 cap_2 capshare_1 s_wt_glo s_ld_1 s_ld_2 lndistance
democracy1 democracy2 democracy1_2 peaceyrs _spline1 _spline2 _spline3, robust cluster(dyad_id)

eststo M2: probit cwinit ovleaderfirccall ovinstfirccall ovrestfirccall cap_1 cap_2 capshare_1
s_wt_glo s_ld_1 s_ld_2 lndistance democracy1 democracy2 democracy1_2 peaceyrs _spline1 _spline2
_spline3, robust cluster(dyad_id)

eststo M3: probit cwinit covfirccall cap_1 cap_2 capshare_1 s_wt_glo s_ld_1 s_ld_2 lndistance
democracy1 democracy2 democracy1_2 peaceyrs _spline1 _spline2 _spline3, robust cluster(dyad_id)

eststo M4: probit cwinit covleaderfirccall covinstfirccall cap_1 cap_2 capshare_1 s_wt_glo s_ld_1
s_ld_2 lndistance democracy1 democracy2 democracy1_2 peaceyrs _spline1 _spline2 _spline3, robust
cluster(dyad_id)

eststo M5: probit cwinit covfircsuccall covfircfailall cap_1 cap_2 capshare_1 s_wt_glo s_ld_1
s_ld_2 lndistance democracy1 democracy2 democracy1_2 peaceyrs _spline1 _spline2 _spline3, robust
cluster(dyad_id)

eststo M6: probit cwinit covleadfircsuccall cap_1 cap_2 capshare_1 s_wt_glo s_ld_1 s_ld_2
lndistance democracy1 democracy2 democracy1_2 peaceyrs _spline1 _spline2 _spline3, robust
cluster(dyad_id)

eststo M7: probit cwinit covleadfircfailall covinstfircfailall cap_1 cap_2 capshare_1 s_wt_glo
s_ld_1 s_ld_2 lndistance democracy1 democracy2 democracy1_2 peaceyrs _spline1 _spline2 _spline3,
robust cluster(dyad_id)

esttab M1 M2 M3 M4 M5 M6 M7 using firccall.tab, se(2) pr2 b(2) star(+ 0.10 * 0.05 ** 0.01 ***
0.001) order(ovfirccall ovleaderfirccall ovinstfirccall ovrestfirccall covfirccall covleaderfirccall
covinstfirccall covfircsuccall covfircfailall covleadfircsuccall covleadfircfailall
covinstfircfailall)
```

APPENDIX D: RESULTS FOR OVERT FIRC USING DEMOCRATIZING RATHER THAN INSTITUTIONAL FIRC, 10 YEAR AND 5 YEAR TREATMENTS

In the article, institutional FIRCs include interventions that seek to democratize targets, as well as interventions by the Soviet Union that establish communist systems. In this robustness check, we recode institutional FIRCs to include only the democratizing kind; Soviet FIRCs are recategorized as leadership FIRCs.

Table D1. Overt FIRC, All MIDs, Democratizing FIRC, 10 Years

	(1) cwinit	(2) cwinit
ovfirc10	-0.05 (0.10)	
ovleaderfirc10dmz		0.21+ (0.12)
ovdmzfirc10		-0.40 (0.37)
ovrestfirc10		-0.89** (0.34)
cap_1	1.75*** (0.26)	1.76*** (0.26)
cap_2	1.50*** (0.29)	1.51*** (0.29)
capshare_1	0.16** (0.05)	0.16** (0.05)
s_wt_glo	-0.10* (0.05)	-0.10* (0.05)
s_ld_1	-0.03 (0.07)	-0.03 (0.07)
s_ld_2	0.05 (0.07)	0.05 (0.07)
lndistance	-0.09*** (0.00)	-0.09*** (0.00)
democracy1	0.09* (0.04)	0.09* (0.04)
democracy2	0.14*** (0.04)	0.14*** (0.04)
democracy1_2	-0.48*** (0.06)	-0.47*** (0.06)
peaceyrs	-0.09*** (0.01)	-0.09*** (0.01)
_spline1	-0.00*** (0.00)	-0.00*** (0.00)
_spline2	0.00*** (0.00)	0.00*** (0.00)
_spline3	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)
_cons	-1.49*** (0.07)	-1.49*** (0.07)
N	180498	180498
pseudo R-sq	0.133	0.134

Standard errors in parentheses

+ p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001

Code for Table D1

```
eststo M1: probit cwinit ovfirc10 cap_1 cap_2 capshare_1 s_wt_glo s_ld_1 s_ld_2 lndistance  
democracy1 democracy2 democracy1_2 peaceyrs _spline1 _spline2 _spline3, robust cluster(dyad_id)
```

```
eststo M2: probit cwinit ovleaderfirc10dmz ovdmzfirc10 ovrestfirc10 cap_1 cap_2 capshare_1  
s_wt_glo s_ld_1 s_ld_2 lndistance democracy1 democracy2 democracy1_2 peaceyrs _spline1 _spline2  
_spline3, robust cluster(dyad_id)
```

```
esttab M1 M2 using ovdemz10.tab, se(2) pr2 b(2) star(+ 0.10 * 0.05 ** 0.01 *** 0.001)  
order(ovfirc10 ovleaderfirc10dmz ovdmzfirc10 ovrestfirc10)
```

Table D2. Overt FIRC, All MIDs, Democratizing FIRC, 5 Years

	(1) cwinit	(2) cwinit
ovfirc5	-0.07 (0.11)	
ovleaderfirc5dmz		0.20+ (0.12)
ovdmzfirc5		-0.22 (0.40)
cap_1	1.75*** (0.26)	1.74*** (0.26)
cap_2	1.50*** (0.29)	1.50*** (0.29)
capshare_1	0.16** (0.05)	0.16** (0.05)
s_wt_glo	-0.10* (0.05)	-0.11* (0.05)
s_ld_1	-0.03 (0.07)	-0.03 (0.07)
s_ld_2	0.05 (0.07)	0.05 (0.07)
lndistance	-0.09*** (0.00)	-0.09*** (0.00)
democracy1	0.09* (0.04)	0.09* (0.04)
democracy2	0.14*** (0.04)	0.14*** (0.04)
democracy1_2	-0.48*** (0.06)	-0.48*** (0.06)
peaceyrs	-0.09*** (0.01)	-0.09*** (0.01)
_spline1	-0.00*** (0.00)	-0.00*** (0.00)
_spline2	0.00*** (0.00)	0.00*** (0.00)
_spline3	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)
_cons	-1.49*** (0.07)	-1.49*** (0.07)
N	180498	180498
pseudo R-sq	0.133	0.133

Standard errors in parentheses

+ p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001

Code for Table D2

```
eststo M1: probit cwinit ovfirc5 cap_1 cap_2 capshare_1 s_wt_glo s_ld_1 s_ld_2 lndistance  
democracy1 democracy2 democracy1_2 peaceyrs _spline1 _spline2 _spline3, robust cluster(dyad_id)  
  
eststo M2: probit cwinit ovleaderfirc5dmz ovdmfirc5 cap_1 cap_2 capshare_1 s_wt_glo s_ld_1  
s_ld_2 lndistance democracy1 democracy2 democracy1_2 peaceyrs _spline1 _spline2 _spline3, robust  
cluster(dyad_id)  
  
esttab M1 M2 using ovfirc5new.tab, se(2) pr2 b(2) star(+ 0.10 * 0.05 ** 0.01 *** 0.001)  
order(ovfirc5 ovleaderfirc5dmz ovdmfirc5)
```

APPENDIX E: ROBUSTNESS CHECK, FORMAL ALLIANCES

One anonymous reviewer suggested controlling for formal alliances, arguing that the effects of alliances are not fully captured by S scores. Alliance data are taken from the Correlates of War Formal Alliance data (generated by EUGene). Our alliance dummy is coded 1 if two states in a dyad had any kind of formal alliance (defense pact, non-aggression pact, or neutrality pact) in year t, and 0 otherwise. The alliance dummy is never statistically significant (the variable is named allydum, and is bolded), and the values of the FIRC coefficients are barely affected by its inclusion. The table shows only those models in which one or more FIRC variables were significant.

Table E1. The Effect of Including Formal Alliances as a Control Variable

	(1) cwinit	(2) cwinit	(3) cwinit	(4) cwinit	(5) cwinit
ovleaderfirc10	0.27* (0.11)				
ovinstfirc10	-0.49 (0.37)				
ovrestfirc10	-0.90** (0.34)				
covfirc10		0.41*** (0.09)			
covleaderfirc10			0.39*** (0.10)		
covinstfirc10			0.43+ (0.22)		
covfircfail10				0.52*** (0.09)	
covleadfircfail10					0.48*** (0.10)
covinstfircfail10					0.72*** (0.17)
cap_1	1.75*** (0.27)	1.71*** (0.27)	1.71*** (0.27)	1.71*** (0.27)	1.71*** (0.27)
cap_2	1.49*** (0.29)	1.45*** (0.29)	1.45*** (0.29)	1.45*** (0.29)	1.45*** (0.29)
capshare_1	0.16** (0.05)	0.16** (0.05)	0.16** (0.05)	0.16** (0.05)	0.16** (0.05)
s_wt_glo	-0.12* (0.05)	-0.10* (0.05)	-0.11* (0.05)	-0.10* (0.05)	-0.10* (0.05)
s_ld_1	-0.03 (0.07)	-0.03 (0.07)	-0.03 (0.07)	-0.03 (0.07)	-0.03 (0.07)
s_ld_2	0.05 (0.07)	0.06 (0.07)	0.06 (0.07)	0.06 (0.07)	0.06 (0.07)
lndistance	-0.09*** (0.00)	-0.09*** (0.00)	-0.09*** (0.00)	-0.09*** (0.00)	-0.09*** (0.00)
democracy1	0.09* (0.04)	0.09* (0.04)	0.09* (0.04)	0.09* (0.04)	0.09* (0.04)
democracy2	0.14*** (0.04)	0.14** (0.04)	0.14** (0.04)	0.14** (0.04)	0.14** (0.04)
democracy1_2	-0.47*** (0.06)	-0.47*** (0.06)	-0.47*** (0.06)	-0.47*** (0.06)	-0.47*** (0.06)

allydum	0.03 (0.04)	0.02 (0.04)	0.02 (0.04)	0.02 (0.04)	0.02 (0.04)
peaceyrs	-0.09*** (0.01)	-0.09*** (0.01)	-0.09*** (0.01)	-0.09*** (0.01)	-0.09*** (0.01)
_spline1	-0.00*** (0.00)	-0.00*** (0.00)	-0.00*** (0.00)	-0.00*** (0.00)	-0.00*** (0.00)
_spline2	0.00*** (0.00)	0.00*** (0.00)	0.00*** (0.00)	0.00*** (0.00)	0.00*** (0.00)
_spline3	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)
_cons	-1.49*** (0.07)	-1.49*** (0.07)	-1.49*** (0.07)	-1.50*** (0.07)	-1.50*** (0.07)
N	180498	180498	180498	180498	180498
pseudo R-sq	0.134	0.134	0.134	0.134	0.134

Standard errors in parentheses
+ p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001

Code for Table E1

```
eststo M1: probit cwinit ovleaderfirc10 ovinstfirc10 ovrestfirc10 cap_1 cap_2 capshare_1 s_wt_glo
s_ld_1 s_ld_2 lndistance democracy1 democracy2 democracy1_2 allydum peaceyrs _spline1 _spline2
_spline3, robust cluster(dyad_id)
```

```
eststo M2: probit cwinit covfirc10 cap_1 cap_2 capshare_1 s_wt_glo s_ld_1 s_ld_2 lndistance
democracy1 democracy2 democracy1_2 allydum peaceyrs _spline1 _spline2 _spline3, robust
cluster(dyad_id)
```

```
eststo M3: probit cwinit covleaderfirc10 covinstfirc10 cap_1 cap_2 capshare_1 s_wt_glo s_ld_1
s_ld_2 lndistance democracy1 democracy2 democracy1_2 allydum peaceyrs _spline1 _spline2 _spline3,
robust cluster(dyad_id)
```

```
eststo M4: probit cwinit covfircfail10 cap_1 cap_2 capshare_1 s_wt_glo s_ld_1 s_ld_2 lndistance
democracy1 democracy2 democracy1_2 allydum peaceyrs _spline1 _spline2 _spline3, robust
cluster(dyad_id)
```

```
eststo M5: probit cwinit covleadfircfail10 covinstfircfail10 cap_1 cap_2 capshare_1 s_wt_glo
s_ld_1 s_ld_2 lndistance democracy1 democracy2 democracy1_2 allydum peaceyrs _spline1 _spline2
_spline3, robust cluster(dyad_id)
```

```
esttab M1 M2 M3 M4 M5 using allyfirc.tab, se(2) pr2 b(2) star(+ 0.10 * 0.05 ** 0.01 *** 0.001)
order(ovleaderfirc10 ovinstfirc10 ovrestfirc10 covfirc10 covleaderfirc10 covinstfirc10
covfircfail10 covleadfircfail10 covinstfircfail10)
```

APPENDIX F: RESULTS USING FATAL MIDS AS DV RATHER THAN ALL MIDS, 10 YEAR AND 5 YEAR TREATMENTS

One criticism of our dependent variable is that the MID dataset includes some low level disputes that did not involve the use of force. As a robustness test, therefore, we generated two additional dummy variables to capture only those MIDs that escalated to higher levels of hostility. The first detects "fatal MIDs," and is coded 1 if state A in a dyad initiated a MID that escalated to the use of force or war (4 or 5 on the hostility level variable) by either side. In 71 percent of the MIDs in our dataset, at least one side reached this level of violence. The second variable is coded 1 only if a MID initiated by State A escalated to war. This occurred in 7.5 percent of the MIDs in our data. Results for "fatal MIDs" are shown in Appendix F; results for war are shown in Appendix G.

Overall, among overt FIRCs, the effect of leadership FIRC is slightly weaker ($p < 0.14$) for fatal MIDs but stronger for wars ($p < 0.001$). No wars occurred after a Restoration FIRC, so its effect cannot be estimated statistically. Among covert FIRCs, institutional covert FIRCs were no longer significant using fatal MIDs as the dependent variable; no wars occurred after a covert institutional FIRC.

Table F1. Overt FIRC, Fatal MIDs, 10 Years (Using Institutional and Democratizing FIRC)

	(1) midinit_fatal	(2) midinit_fatal	(3) midinit_fatal
ovfirc10	-0.08 (0.13)		
ovleaderfirc10		0.21 (0.14)	
ovinstfirc10		-0.33 (0.38)	
ovrestfirca11		-0.25* (0.12)	-0.25* (0.12)
ovleaderfirc0dmz			0.16 (0.14)
ovdmzfirc10			-0.24 (0.39)
cap_1	1.61*** (0.29)	1.62*** (0.29)	1.61*** (0.29)
cap_2	1.64*** (0.31)	1.64*** (0.31)	1.63*** (0.31)
capshare_1	0.14* (0.06)	0.13* (0.06)	0.13* (0.06)
s_wt_glo	-0.10+ (0.05)	-0.10+ (0.05)	-0.10+ (0.05)
s_ld_1	-0.08 (0.08)	-0.09 (0.08)	-0.09 (0.08)
s_ld_2	0.01 (0.08)	0.01 (0.08)	0.01 (0.08)
lndistance	-0.09*** (0.00)	-0.09*** (0.00)	-0.09*** (0.00)
democracy1	0.03 (0.04)	0.03 (0.04)	0.03 (0.04)
democracy2	0.15** (0.05)	0.15** (0.05)	0.15** (0.05)
democracy1_2	-0.43*** (0.07)	-0.42*** (0.07)	-0.42*** (0.07)
peaceyrs	-0.08*** (0.01)	-0.08*** (0.01)	-0.08*** (0.01)
_spline1	-0.00*** (0.00)	-0.00*** (0.00)	-0.00*** (0.00)
_spline2	0.00*** (0.00)	0.00*** (0.00)	0.00*** (0.00)
_spline3	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)
_cons	-1.57*** (0.08)	-1.57*** (0.08)	-1.57*** (0.08)
N	180498	180498	180498
pseudo R-sq	0.124	0.125	0.125

Standard errors in parentheses; + p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001

Code for Table F1

```
#generate peace years and cubic splines for new dependent variable
```

```
btscs midinit_fatal year dyad_id, g(peaceyrs) nspline(3)
```

```
eststo M1: probit midinit_fatal ovfirc10 cap_1 cap_2 capshare_1 s_wt_glo s_ld_1 s_ld_2 lndistance  
democracy1 democracy2 democracy1_2 peaceyrs _spline1 _spline2 _spline3, robust cluster(dyad_id)
```

```
#ovrestfirc10 perfectly predicts zero; substitute ovrestfircall.
```

```
eststo M2: probit midinit_fatal ovleaderfirc10 ovinstfirc10 ovrestfircall cap_1 cap_2 capshare_1  
s_wt_glo s_ld_1 s_ld_2 lndistance democracy1 democracy2 democracy1_2 peaceyrs _spline1 _spline2  
_spline3, robust cluster(dyad_id)
```

```
eststo M3: probit midinit_fatal ovleaderfirc10dmz ovdmfirc10 ovrestfircall cap_1 cap_2  
capshare_1 s_wt_glo s_ld_1 s_ld_2 lndistance democracy1 democracy2 democracy1_2 peaceyrs _spline1  
_spline2 _spline3, robust cluster(dyad_id)
```

```
esttab M1 M2 M3 using tab1.tab, se(2) pr2 b(2) star(+ 0.10 * 0.05 ** 0.01 *** 0.001)  
order(ovfirc10 ovleaderfirc10 ovinstfirc10 ovrestfircall ovleaderfirc10dmz ovdmfirc10)
```

Table F2. Overt FIRC, Fatal MIDs, 5 Years (Using Institutional and Democratizing FIRC)

	(1) midinit_fatal	(2) midinit_fatal	(3) midinit_fatal
ovfirc5	-0.12 (0.15)		
ovleaderfirc5		0.12 (0.15)	
ovinstfirc5		-0.13 (0.41)	
ovleaderfirc5dmz			0.06 (0.16)
ovdmzfirc5			-0.03 (0.41)
cap_1	1.61*** (0.29)	1.60*** (0.29)	1.60*** (0.29)
cap_2	1.64*** (0.31)	1.63*** (0.31)	1.63*** (0.31)
capshare_1	0.14* (0.06)	0.13* (0.06)	0.13* (0.06)
s_wt_glo	-0.10+ (0.05)	-0.10* (0.05)	-0.10* (0.05)
s_ld_1	-0.08 (0.08)	-0.09 (0.08)	-0.08 (0.08)
s_ld_2	0.01 (0.08)	0.01 (0.08)	0.01 (0.08)
lndistance	-0.09*** (0.00)	-0.09*** (0.00)	-0.09*** (0.00)
democracy1	0.03 (0.04)	0.03 (0.04)	0.03 (0.04)
democracy2	0.15** (0.05)	0.15** (0.05)	0.15** (0.05)
democracy1_2	-0.43*** (0.07)	-0.43*** (0.07)	-0.43*** (0.07)
peaceyrs	-0.08*** (0.01)	-0.08*** (0.01)	-0.08*** (0.01)
_spline1	-0.00*** (0.00)	-0.00*** (0.00)	-0.00*** (0.00)
_spline2	0.00*** (0.00)	0.00*** (0.00)	0.00*** (0.00)
_spline3	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)
_cons	-1.57*** (0.08)	-1.57*** (0.08)	-1.57*** (0.08)
N	180498	180498	180498
pseudo R-sq	0.124	0.124	0.124

Standard errors in parentheses

+ p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001

Code for Table F2

```
eststo M1: probit midinit_fatal ovfirc5 cap_1 cap_2 capshare_1 s_wt_glo s_ld_1 s_ld_2 lndistance  
democracy1 democracy2 democracy1_2 peaceyrs _spline1 _spline2 _spline3, robust cluster(dyad_id)
```

```
#ovrestfirc5 perfectly predicts zero.
```

```
eststo M2: probit midinit_fatal ovleaderfirc5 ovinstfirc5 cap_1 cap_2 capshare_1 s_wt_glo s_ld_1  
s_ld_2 lndistance democracy1 democracy2 democracy1_2 peaceyrs _spline1 _spline2 _spline3, robust  
cluster(dyad_id)
```

```
eststo M3: probit midinit_fatal ovleaderfirc5dmz ovdmfirc5 cap_1 cap_2 capshare_1 s_wt_glo  
s_ld_1 s_ld_2 lndistance democracy1 democracy2 democracy1_2 peaceyrs _spline1 _spline2 _spline3,  
robust cluster(dyad_id)
```

```
esttab M1 M2 M3 using tab2.tab, se(2) pr2 b(2) star(+ 0.10 * 0.05 ** 0.01 *** 0.001)  
order(ovfirc5 ovleaderfirc5 ovinstfirc5 ovleaderfirc5dmz ovdmfirc5)
```

Table F3. Covert FIRC, Fatal MIDs, 10 Years

	(1) midinit_fatal	(2) midinit_fatal	(3) midinit_fatal
covertfirc	0.53*** (0.14)		
covfirc10		0.51*** (0.10)	
covleaderfirc10			0.51*** (0.11)
covinstfirc10			0.31 (0.31)
cap_1	1.55*** (0.28)	1.57*** (0.29)	1.57*** (0.29)
cap_2	1.56*** (0.31)	1.58*** (0.31)	1.58*** (0.31)
capshare_1	0.13* (0.06)	0.13* (0.06)	0.13* (0.06)
s_wt_glo	-0.10+ (0.05)	-0.09+ (0.05)	-0.09+ (0.05)
s_ld_1	-0.08 (0.07)	-0.09 (0.07)	-0.09 (0.07)
s_ld_2	0.01 (0.07)	0.00 (0.07)	0.00 (0.07)
lndistance	-0.09*** (0.00)	-0.09*** (0.00)	-0.09*** (0.00)
democracy1	0.02 (0.04)	0.02 (0.04)	0.02 (0.04)
democracy2	0.14** (0.05)	0.14** (0.05)	0.14** (0.05)
democracy1_2	-0.42*** (0.07)	-0.42*** (0.07)	-0.42*** (0.07)
peaceyrs	-0.08*** (0.01)	-0.08*** (0.01)	-0.08*** (0.01)
_spline1	-0.00*** (0.00)	-0.00*** (0.00)	-0.00*** (0.00)
_spline2	0.00*** (0.00)	0.00*** (0.00)	0.00*** (0.00)
_spline3	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)
_cons	-1.57*** (0.08)	-1.58*** (0.08)	-1.58*** (0.08)
N	180498	180498	180498
pseudo R-sq	0.125	0.126	0.125

Standard errors in parentheses
+ p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001

Code for Table F3

```
eststo M1: probit midinit_fatal covertfirc cap_1 cap_2 capshare_1 s_wt_glo s_ld_1 s_ld_2  
lndistance democracy1 democracy2 democracy1_2 peaceyrs _spline1 _spline2 _spline3, robust  
cluster(dyad_id)
```

```
eststo M2: probit midinit_fatal covfirc10 cap_1 cap_2 capshare_1 s_wt_glo s_ld_1 s_ld_2  
lndistance democracy1 democracy2 democracy1_2 peaceyrs _spline1 _spline2 _spline3, robust  
cluster(dyad_id)
```

```
eststo M3: probit midinit_fatal covleaderfirc10 covinstfirc10 cap_1 cap_2 capshare_1 s_wt_glo  
s_ld_1 s_ld_2 lndistance democracy1 democracy2 democracy1_2 peaceyrs _spline1 _spline2 _spline3,  
robust cluster(dyad_id)
```

```
esttab M1 M2 M3 using covfatal10.tab, se(2) pr2 b(2) star(+ 0.10 * 0.05 ** 0.01 *** 0.001)  
order(covertfirc covfirc10 covleaderfirc10 covinstfirc10)
```

Table F4. Covert FIRC, Fatal MIDs, 5 Years

	(1)	(2)
	midinit_fatal	midinit_fatal
covfirc5	0.46*** (0.13)	
covleaderfirc5		0.41** (0.14)
covinstfirc5		0.59 (0.36)
cap_1	1.58*** (0.29)	1.58*** (0.29)
cap_2	1.60*** (0.31)	1.60*** (0.31)
capshare_1	0.13* (0.06)	0.13* (0.06)
s_wt_glo	-0.10+ (0.05)	-0.10+ (0.05)
s_ld_1	-0.08 (0.07)	-0.08 (0.08)
s_ld_2	0.01 (0.08)	0.01 (0.08)
lndistance	-0.09*** (0.00)	-0.09*** (0.00)
democracy1	0.03 (0.04)	0.03 (0.04)
democracy2	0.14** (0.05)	0.14** (0.05)
democracy1_2	-0.42*** (0.07)	-0.42*** (0.07)
peaceyrs	-0.08*** (0.01)	-0.08*** (0.01)
_spline1	-0.00*** (0.00)	-0.00*** (0.00)
_spline2	0.00*** (0.00)	0.00*** (0.00)
_spline3	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)
_cons	-1.57*** (0.08)	-1.57*** (0.08)
N	180498	180498
pseudo R-sq	0.125	0.125

Standard errors in parentheses

+ p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001

Code for Table F4

```
eststo M1: probit midinit_fatal covfirc5 cap_1 cap_2 capshare_1 s_wt_glo s_ld_1 s_ld_2 lndistance  
democracy1 democracy2 democracy1_2 peaceyrs _spline1 _spline2 _spline3, robust cluster(dyad_id)
```

```
eststo M2: probit midinit_fatal covleaderfirc5 covinstfirc5 cap_1 cap_2 capshare_1 s_wt_glo  
s_ld_1 s_ld_2 lndistance democracy1 democracy2 democracy1_2 peaceyrs _spline1 _spline2 _spline3,  
robust cluster(dyad_id)
```

```
esttab M1 M2 using covfatal5.tab, se(2) pr2 b(2) star(+ 0.10 * 0.05 ** 0.01 *** 0.001)  
order(covfirc5 covleaderfirc5 covinstfirc5)
```

Table F5. Covert FIRC, Fatal MIDs, Successes and Failures, 10 Years

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	midinit_fatal	midinit_fatal	midinit_fatal	midinit_fatal
covfircsucc10	0.13 (0.24)			
covleadfircsucc10		0.19 (0.25)		
covfircfail10			0.60*** (0.10)	
covleadfircfail10				0.60*** (0.12)
covinstfircfail10				0.44 (0.31)
cap_1	1.60*** (0.29)	1.60*** (0.29)	1.57*** (0.29)	1.58*** (0.29)
cap_2	1.63*** (0.31)	1.62*** (0.31)	1.58*** (0.31)	1.58*** (0.31)
capshare_1	0.14* (0.06)	0.13* (0.06)	0.13* (0.06)	0.13* (0.06)
s_wt_glo	-0.10* (0.05)	-0.10* (0.05)	-0.09+ (0.05)	-0.08+ (0.05)
s_ld_1	-0.08 (0.08)	-0.08 (0.08)	-0.09 (0.07)	-0.08 (0.07)
s_ld_2	0.01 (0.08)	0.01 (0.08)	0.00 (0.07)	0.01 (0.07)
lndistance	-0.09*** (0.00)	-0.09*** (0.00)	-0.09*** (0.00)	-0.09*** (0.00)
democracy1	0.03 (0.04)	0.03 (0.04)	0.02 (0.04)	0.02 (0.04)
democracy2	0.15** (0.05)	0.15** (0.05)	0.14** (0.05)	0.14** (0.05)
democracy1_2	-0.43*** (0.07)	-0.43*** (0.07)	-0.41*** (0.07)	-0.41*** (0.07)
peaceyrs	-0.08*** (0.01)	-0.08*** (0.01)	-0.08*** (0.01)	-0.08*** (0.01)
_spline1	-0.00*** (0.00)	-0.00*** (0.00)	-0.00*** (0.00)	-0.00*** (0.00)
_spline2	0.00*** (0.00)	0.00*** (0.00)	0.00*** (0.00)	0.00*** (0.00)
_spline3	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)
_cons	-1.57*** (0.08)	-1.57*** (0.08)	-1.58*** (0.08)	-1.58*** (0.08)
N	180498	180498	180498	180498
pseudo R-sq	0.124	0.124	0.126	0.126

Standard errors in parentheses

+ p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001

Code for Table F5

```
eststo M1: probit midinit_fatal covfircsucc10 cap_1 cap_2 capshare_1 s_wt_glo s_ld_1 s_ld_2
lndistance democracy1 democracy2 democracy1_2 peaceyrs _spline1 _spline2 _spline3, robust
cluster(dyad_id)

eststo M2: probit midinit_fatal covleadfircsucc10 cap_1 cap_2 capshare_1 s_wt_glo s_ld_1 s_ld_2
lndistance democracy1 democracy2 democracy1_2 peaceyrs _spline1 _spline2 _spline3, robust
cluster(dyad_id)

eststo M3: probit midinit_fatal covfircfail10 cap_1 cap_2 capshare_1 s_wt_glo s_ld_1 s_ld_2
lndistance democracy1 democracy2 democracy1_2 peaceyrs _spline1 _spline2 _spline3, robust
cluster(dyad_id)

eststo M4: probit midinit_fatal covleadfircfail10 covinstfircfail10 cap_1 cap_2 capshare_1
s_wt_glo s_ld_1 s_ld_2 lndistance democracy1 democracy2 democracy1_2 peaceyrs _spline1 _spline2
_spline3, robust cluster(dyad_id)

esttab M1 M2 M3 M4 using covsuccfail10.tab, se(2) pr2 b(2) star(+ 0.10 * 0.05 ** 0.01 *** 0.001)
order(covfircsucc10 covleadfircsucc10 covfircfail10 covleadfircfail10 covinstfircfail10)
```

Table F6. Covert FIRC, Fatal MIDs, Successes and Failures, 5 Years

	(1) midinit_fatal	(2) midinit_fatal	(3) midinit_fatal	(4) midinit_fatal
covfircsucc5	0.07 (0.35)			
covleadfircsucc5		0.12 (0.36)		
covfircfail5			0.56*** (0.14)	
covleadfircfail5				0.49** (0.16)
covinstfircfail5				0.74+ (0.39)
cap_1	1.60*** (0.29)	1.60*** (0.29)	1.58*** (0.29)	1.59*** (0.29)
cap_2	1.63*** (0.31)	1.63*** (0.31)	1.61*** (0.31)	1.61*** (0.31)
capshare_1	0.14* (0.06)	0.14* (0.06)	0.13* (0.06)	0.13* (0.06)
s_wt_glo	-0.10* (0.05)	-0.10* (0.05)	-0.10+ (0.05)	-0.10+ (0.05)
s_ld_1	-0.08 (0.08)	-0.08 (0.08)	-0.08 (0.07)	-0.08 (0.07)
s_ld_2	0.01 (0.08)	0.01 (0.08)	0.01 (0.08)	0.01 (0.08)
lndistance	-0.09*** (0.00)	-0.09*** (0.00)	-0.09*** (0.00)	-0.09*** (0.00)
democracy1	0.03 (0.04)	0.03 (0.04)	0.03 (0.04)	0.03 (0.04)
democracy2	0.15** (0.05)	0.15** (0.05)	0.14** (0.05)	0.14** (0.05)
democracy1_2	-0.43*** (0.07)	-0.43*** (0.07)	-0.42*** (0.07)	-0.42*** (0.07)
peaceyrs	-0.08*** (0.01)	-0.08*** (0.01)	-0.08*** (0.01)	-0.08*** (0.01)
_spline1	-0.00*** (0.00)	-0.00*** (0.00)	-0.00*** (0.00)	-0.00*** (0.00)
_spline2	0.00*** (0.00)	0.00*** (0.00)	0.00*** (0.00)	0.00*** (0.00)
_spline3	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)
_cons	-1.57*** (0.08)	-1.57*** (0.08)	-1.58*** (0.08)	-1.58*** (0.08)
N	180498	180498	180498	180498
pseudo R-sq	0.124	0.124	0.125	0.125

Standard errors in parentheses

+ p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001

Code for Table F6

```
eststo M1: probit midinit_fatal covfircsucc5 cap_1 cap_2 capshare_1 s_wt_glo s_ld_1 s_ld_2  
lndistance democracy1 democracy2 democracy1_2 peaceyrs _spline1 _spline2 _spline3, robust  
cluster(dyad_id)
```

```
eststo M2: probit midinit_fatal covleadfircsucc5 cap_1 cap_2 capshare_1 s_wt_glo s_ld_1 s_ld_2  
lndistance democracy1 democracy2 democracy1_2 peaceyrs _spline1 _spline2 _spline3, robust  
cluster(dyad_id)
```

```
eststo M3: probit midinit_fatal covfircfail5 cap_1 cap_2 capshare_1 s_wt_glo s_ld_1 s_ld_2  
lndistance democracy1 democracy2 democracy1_2 peaceyrs _spline1 _spline2 _spline3, robust  
cluster(dyad_id)
```

```
eststo M4: probit midinit_fatal covleadfircfail5 covinstfircfail5 cap_1 cap_2 capshare_1 s_wt_glo  
s_ld_1 s_ld_2 lndistance democracy1 democracy2 democracy1_2 peaceyrs _spline1 _spline2 _spline3,  
robust cluster(dyad_id)
```

```
esttab M1 M2 M3 M4 using covsuccfail5.tab, se(2) pr2 b(2) star(+ 0.10 * 0.05 ** 0.01 *** 0.001)  
order(covfircsucc5 covleadfircsucc5 covfircfail5 covleadfircfail5 covinstfircfail5)
```

APPENDIX G: RESULTS USING WAR AS DV RATHER THAN ALL MIDS OR FATAL MIDS, 10 YEAR AND 5 YEAR TREATMENTS

Table G1. Overt FIRC, War, 10 Years

	(1) midinit_war	(2) midinit_war	(3) midinit_war
ovfirc10	0.40* (0.19)		
ovleaderfirc10		0.68** (0.21)	
ovleaderfirc0dmz			0.63** (0.21)
cap_1	2.00*** (0.43)	2.03*** (0.43)	2.02*** (0.43)
cap_2	1.56** (0.49)	1.57** (0.49)	1.56** (0.49)
capshare_1	0.13 (0.10)	0.13 (0.10)	0.13 (0.10)
s_wt_glo	-0.02 (0.10)	-0.02 (0.10)	-0.02 (0.10)
s_ld_1	0.14 (0.14)	0.13 (0.14)	0.14 (0.14)
s_ld_2	0.17 (0.14)	0.16 (0.14)	0.16 (0.14)
lndistance	-0.07*** (0.01)	-0.07*** (0.01)	-0.07*** (0.01)
democracy1	0.10 (0.07)	0.10 (0.07)	0.10 (0.07)
democracy2	0.09 (0.11)	0.08 (0.11)	0.09 (0.11)
democracy1_2	-0.73*** (0.16)	-0.72*** (0.16)	-0.72*** (0.16)
peaceyrs	-0.05*** (0.01)	-0.05*** (0.01)	-0.05*** (0.01)
_spline1	-0.00*** (0.00)	-0.00*** (0.00)	-0.00*** (0.00)
_spline2	0.00*** (0.00)	0.00*** (0.00)	0.00*** (0.00)
_spline3	-0.00* (0.00)	-0.00* (0.00)	-0.00* (0.00)
_cons	-2.87*** (0.14)	-2.87*** (0.15)	-2.87*** (0.15)
N	180498	180498	180498
pseudo R-sq	0.089	0.092	0.092

Standard errors in parentheses
+ p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001

Code for Table G1

```
#generate peace years and cubic splines for new dependent variable
```

```
btscs midinit_war year dyad_id, g(peaceyrs) nspline(3)
```

```
eststo M1: probit midinit_war ovfirc10 cap_1 cap_2 capshare_1 s_wt_glo s_ld_1 s_ld_2 lndistance  
democracy1 democracy2 democracy1_2 peaceyrs _spline1 _spline2 _spline3, robust cluster(dyad_id)
```

```
#ovinstfirc10 and ovrestfirc10 perfectly predict zero.
```

```
eststo M2: probit midinit_war ovleaderfirc10 cap_1 cap_2 capshare_1 s_wt_glo s_ld_1 s_ld_2  
lndistance democracy1 democracy2 democracy1_2 peaceyrs _spline1 _spline2 _spline3, robust  
cluster(dyad_id)
```

```
#ovdmzfirc10 and ovdmzfircall perfectly predict zero.
```

```
eststo M3: probit midinit_war ovleaderfirc10dmz cap_1 cap_2 capshare_1 s_wt_glo s_ld_1 s_ld_2  
lndistance democracy1 democracy2 democracy1_2 peaceyrs _spline1 _spline2 _spline3, robust  
cluster(dyad_id)
```

```
esttab M1 M2 M3 using tab3.tab, se(2) pr2 b(2) star(+ 0.10 * 0.05 ** 0.01 *** 0.001)  
order(ovfirc10 ovleaderfirc10 ovinstfircall ovleaderfirc10dmz)
```

Table G2. Overt FIRC, War, 5 Years

	(1) midinit_war	(2) midinit_war	(3) midinit_war
ovfirc5	0.46* (0.20)		
ovleaderfirc5		0.75*** (0.22)	
ovleaderfirc5dmz			0.69** (0.22)
cap_1	2.02*** (0.43)	2.04*** (0.43)	2.03*** (0.43)
cap_2	1.57** (0.49)	1.58** (0.49)	1.57** (0.49)
capshare_1	0.12 (0.10)	0.12 (0.10)	0.12 (0.10)
s_wt_glo	-0.02 (0.10)	-0.02 (0.10)	-0.02 (0.10)
s_ld_1	0.14 (0.14)	0.13 (0.14)	0.14 (0.14)
s_ld_2	0.17 (0.14)	0.16 (0.14)	0.16 (0.14)
lndistance	-0.07*** (0.01)	-0.07*** (0.01)	-0.07*** (0.01)
democracy1	0.10 (0.07)	0.10 (0.07)	0.10 (0.07)
democracy2	0.09 (0.11)	0.08 (0.11)	0.09 (0.11)
democracy1_2	-0.73*** (0.16)	-0.72*** (0.16)	-0.72*** (0.16)
peaceyrs	-0.05*** (0.01)	-0.05*** (0.01)	-0.05*** (0.01)
_spline1	-0.00*** (0.00)	-0.00*** (0.00)	-0.00*** (0.00)
_spline2	0.00*** (0.00)	0.00*** (0.00)	0.00*** (0.00)
_spline3	-0.00* (0.00)	-0.00* (0.00)	-0.00* (0.00)
_cons	-2.86*** (0.14)	-2.87*** (0.15)	-2.87*** (0.15)
N	180498	180498	180498
pseudo R-sq	0.089	0.091	0.091

Standard errors in parentheses

+ p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001

Code for Table G2

```
eststo M1: probit midinit_war ovfirc5 cap_1 cap_2 capshare_1 s_wt_glo s_ld_1 s_ld_2 lndistance  
democracy1 democracy2 democracy1_2 peaceyrs _spline1 _spline2 _spline3, robust cluster(dyad_id)
```

#ovinstfirc5 and ovrestfirc5 perfectly predict zero.

```
eststo M2: probit midinit_war ovleaderfirc5 cap_1 cap_2 capshare_1 s_wt_glo s_ld_1 s_ld_2  
lndistance democracy1 democracy2 democracy1_2 peaceyrs _spline1 _spline2 _spline3, robust  
cluster(dyad_id)
```

```
eststo M3: probit midinit_war ovleaderfirc5dmz cap_1 cap_2 capshare_1 s_wt_glo s_ld_1 s_ld_2  
lndistance democracy1 democracy2 democracy1_2 peaceyrs _spline1 _spline2 _spline3, robust  
cluster(dyad_id)
```

```
esttab M1 M2 M3 using tab4.tab, se(2) pr2 b(2) star(+ 0.10 * 0.05 ** 0.01 *** 0.001)  
order(ovfirc5 ovleaderfirc5 ovleaderfirc5dmz)
```

Table G3. Covert FIRC, War, 10 Years

	(1) midinit_war	(2) midinit_war	(3) midinit_war
covertfirc	0.70*** (0.18)		
covfirc10		0.37+ (0.22)	
covleaderfirc10			0.41+ (0.22)
cap_1	1.99*** (0.42)	2.05*** (0.43)	2.04*** (0.43)
cap_2	1.52** (0.49)	1.60** (0.49)	1.59** (0.49)
capshare_1	0.13 (0.10)	0.13 (0.10)	0.13 (0.10)
s_wt_glo	-0.00 (0.10)	-0.00 (0.10)	-0.00 (0.10)
s_ld_1	0.13 (0.13)	0.13 (0.14)	0.13 (0.14)
s_ld_2	0.19 (0.13)	0.18 (0.13)	0.18 (0.13)
lndistance	-0.08*** (0.01)	-0.08*** (0.01)	-0.08*** (0.01)
democracy1	0.09 (0.08)	0.10 (0.07)	0.10 (0.07)
democracy2	0.07 (0.11)	0.08 (0.11)	0.08 (0.11)
democracy1_2	-0.71*** (0.16)	-0.72*** (0.16)	-0.71*** (0.16)
peaceyrs	-0.05*** (0.01)	-0.05*** (0.01)	-0.05*** (0.01)
_spline1	-0.00*** (0.00)	-0.00*** (0.00)	-0.00*** (0.00)
_spline2	0.00*** (0.00)	0.00*** (0.00)	0.00*** (0.00)
_spline3	-0.00* (0.00)	-0.00* (0.00)	-0.00* (0.00)
_cons	-2.86*** (0.15)	-2.87*** (0.14)	-2.87*** (0.14)
N	180498	180498	180498
pseudo R-sq	0.090	0.087	0.087

Standard errors in parentheses

+ p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001

Code for Table G3

```
eststo M1: probit midinit_war covertfirc cap_1 cap_2 capshare_1 s_wt_glo s_ld_1 s_ld_2 lndistance  
democracy1 democracy2 democracy1_2 peaceyrs _spline1 _spline2 _spline3, robust cluster(dyad_id)
```

```
eststo M2: probit midinit_war covfirc10 cap_1 cap_2 capshare_1 s_wt_glo s_ld_1 s_ld_2 lndistance  
democracy1 democracy2 democracy1_2 peaceyrs _spline1 _spline2 _spline3, robust cluster(dyad_id)
```

```
# covinstfirc10 perfectly predicts zero.
```

```
eststo M3: probit midinit_war covleaderfirc10 cap_1 cap_2 capshare_1 s_wt_glo s_ld_1 s_ld_2  
lndistance democracy1 democracy2 democracy1_2 peaceyrs _spline1 _spline2 _spline3, robust  
cluster(dyad_id)
```

```
esttab M1 M2 M3 using covwar10.tab, se(2) pr2 b(2) star(+ 0.10 * 0.05 ** 0.01 *** 0.001)  
order(covertfirc covfirc10 covleaderfirc10)
```

Table G4. Covert FIRC, Wars, 5 Years

	(1) midinit_war	(2) midinit_war
covfirc5	0.45 (0.30)	
covleaderfirc5		0.49 (0.31)
cap_1	2.05*** (0.42)	2.04*** (0.42)
cap_2	1.60** (0.49)	1.60** (0.49)
capshare_1	0.13 (0.10)	0.13 (0.10)
s_wt_glo	-0.01 (0.10)	-0.01 (0.10)
s_ld_1	0.13 (0.14)	0.13 (0.14)
s_ld_2	0.18 (0.13)	0.18 (0.13)
lndistance	-0.08*** (0.01)	-0.08*** (0.01)
democracy1	0.10 (0.07)	0.10 (0.07)
democracy2	0.08 (0.11)	0.08 (0.11)
democracy1_2	-0.72*** (0.16)	-0.72*** (0.16)
peaceyrs	-0.05*** (0.01)	-0.05*** (0.01)
_spline1	-0.00*** (0.00)	-0.00*** (0.00)
_spline2	0.00*** (0.00)	0.00*** (0.00)
_spline3	-0.00* (0.00)	-0.00* (0.00)
_cons	-2.86*** (0.14)	-2.87*** (0.14)
N	180498	180498
pseudo R-sq	0.087	0.087

Standard errors in parentheses
+ p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001

Code for Table G4

```
eststo M1: probit midinit_war covfirc5 cap_1 cap_2 capshare_1 s_wt_glo s_ld_1 s_ld_2 lndistance  
democracy1 democracy2 democracy1_2 peaceyrs _spline1 _spline2 _spline3, robust cluster(dyad_id)
```

```
#covinstfirc5 perfectly predicts zero.
```

```
eststo M2: probit midinit_war covleaderfirc5 cap_1 cap_2 capshare_1 s_wt_glo s_ld_1 s_ld_2  
lndistance democracy1 democracy2 democracy1_2 peaceyrs _spline1 _spline2 _spline3, robust  
cluster(dyad_id)
```

```
esttab M1 M2 using covwar5.tab, se(2) pr2 b(2) star(+ 0.10 * 0.05 ** 0.01 *** 0.001)  
order(covfirc5 covleaderfirc5)
```

Table G5. Covert FIRC, War, Successes and Failures, 10 Years

	(1)	(2)
	midinit_war	midinit_war
covfircfail10	0.48* (0.23)	
covleadfircfail10		0.51* (0.23)
cap_1	2.05*** (0.43)	2.05*** (0.43)
cap_2	1.59** (0.49)	1.59** (0.49)
capshare_1	0.13 (0.10)	0.13 (0.10)
s_wt_glo	0.00 (0.10)	0.00 (0.10)
s_ld_1	0.13 (0.14)	0.13 (0.14)
s_ld_2	0.18 (0.13)	0.19 (0.13)
lndistance	-0.08*** (0.01)	-0.08*** (0.01)
democracy1	0.10 (0.07)	0.10 (0.07)
democracy2	0.08 (0.11)	0.08 (0.11)
democracy1_2	-0.71*** (0.16)	-0.71*** (0.16)
peaceyrs	-0.05*** (0.01)	-0.05*** (0.01)
_spline1	-0.00*** (0.00)	-0.00*** (0.00)
_spline2	0.00*** (0.00)	0.00*** (0.00)
_spline3	-0.00* (0.00)	-0.00* (0.00)
_cons	-2.87*** (0.14)	-2.87*** (0.14)
N	180498	180498
pseudo R-sq	0.088	0.088

Standard errors in parentheses
+ p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001

Code for Table G5

```
#covfircsucc10, covleadfircsucc10, and covinstfircsucc10 all perfectly predict zero.
```

```
eststo M1: probit midinit_war covfircfail10 cap_1 cap_2 capshare_1 s_wt_glo s_ld_1 s_ld_2  
lndistance democracy1 democracy2 democracy1_2 peaceyrs _spline1 _spline2 _spline3, robust  
cluster(dyad_id)
```

```
#covinstfircfail10 perfectly predicts zero.
```

```
eststo M2: probit midinit_war covleadfircfail10 cap_1 cap_2 capshare_1 s_wt_glo s_ld_1 s_ld_2  
lndistance democracy1 democracy2 democracy1_2 peaceyrs _spline1 _spline2 _spline3, robust  
cluster(dyad_id)
```

```
esttab M1 M2 using covsuccfailwar10.tab, se(2) pr2 b(2) star(+ 0.10 * 0.05 ** 0.01 *** 0.001)  
order(covfircfail10 covleadfircfail10)
```

Table G6. Covert FIRC, War, Successes and Failures, 5 Years

	(1)	(2)
	midinit_war	midinit_war
covfircfail5	0.56+ (0.32)	
covleadfircfail5		0.61+ (0.33)
cap_1	2.05*** (0.43)	2.05*** (0.43)
cap_2	1.60** (0.49)	1.60** (0.49)
capshare_1	0.13 (0.10)	0.13 (0.10)
s_wt_glo	-0.00 (0.10)	-0.00 (0.10)
s_ld_1	0.13 (0.14)	0.13 (0.14)
s_ld_2	0.18 (0.13)	0.18 (0.13)
lndistance	-0.08*** (0.01)	-0.08*** (0.01)
democracy1	0.10 (0.07)	0.10 (0.07)
democracy2	0.08 (0.11)	0.08 (0.11)
democracy1_2	-0.71*** (0.16)	-0.71*** (0.16)
peaceyrs	-0.05*** (0.01)	-0.05*** (0.01)
_spline1	-0.00*** (0.00)	-0.00*** (0.00)
_spline2	0.00*** (0.00)	0.00*** (0.00)
_spline3	-0.00* (0.00)	-0.00* (0.00)
_cons	-2.87*** (0.14)	-2.87*** (0.14)
N	180498	180498
pseudo R-sq	0.088	0.088

Standard errors in parentheses

+ p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001

Code for Table G6

#covfircsucc5, covleadfircsucc5, and covinstfircsucc5 all perfectly predict zero.

```
eststo M1: probit midinit_war covfircfail5 cap_1 cap_2 capshare_1 s_wt_glo s_ld_1 s_ld_2  
lndistance democracy1 democracy2 democracy1_2 peaceyrs _spline1 _spline2 _spline3, robust  
cluster(dyad_id)
```

#covinstfircfail5 perfectly predicts zero.

```
eststo M2: probit midinit_war covleadfircfail5 cap_1 cap_2 capshare_1 s_wt_glo s_ld_1 s_ld_2  
lndistance democracy1 democracy2 democracy1_2 peaceyrs _spline1 _spline2 _spline3, robust  
cluster(dyad_id)
```

```
esttab M1 M2 using covsuccfailwar5.tab, se(2) pr2 b(2) star(+ 0.10 * 0.05 ** 0.01 *** 0.001)  
order(covfircfail5 covleadfircfail5)
```

APPENDIX H. ANALYSIS OF COVERT FIRC EXCLUDING NON-U.S. DYADS

Table H1. Analysis of Covert FIRC Restricted to Dyads Including the United States

	(1) cwinit	(2) cwinit	(3) cwinit	(4) cwinit	(5) cwinit
covertfirc	0.49*** (0.14)				
covfirc10		0.23* (0.09)			
covleaderfirc10			0.20* (0.10)		
covinstfirc10			0.37+ (0.21)		
covfircsucc10				-0.04 (0.25)	
covfircfail10				0.31** (0.10)	
covleadfircsucc10					0.03 (0.26)
covleadfircfail10					0.24* (0.11)
covinstfircfail10					0.64*** (0.18)
cap_1	0.80 (0.90)	0.96 (0.95)	0.96 (0.95)	0.97 (0.95)	1.00 (0.96)
cap_2	1.56* (0.67)	1.79* (0.73)	1.79* (0.73)	1.80* (0.73)	1.80* (0.73)
capshare_1	0.25 (0.31)	0.27 (0.35)	0.27 (0.35)	0.27 (0.34)	0.26 (0.34)
s_wt_glo	-0.63*** (0.19)	-0.59*** (0.17)	-0.60*** (0.17)	-0.57** (0.17)	-0.58*** (0.17)
s_ld_1	0.18 (0.24)	0.11 (0.24)	0.11 (0.24)	0.12 (0.24)	0.11 (0.24)
s_ld_2	0.32 (0.23)	0.26 (0.23)	0.25 (0.23)	0.26 (0.23)	0.25 (0.23)
lndistance	-0.13*** (0.01)	-0.13*** (0.01)	-0.13*** (0.01)	-0.13*** (0.01)	-0.13*** (0.01)
democracy1	-0.42*** (0.13)	-0.43*** (0.13)	-0.43*** (0.13)	-0.42*** (0.13)	-0.42*** (0.13)
democracy2	-0.55*** (0.10)	-0.55*** (0.10)	-0.55*** (0.10)	-0.55*** (0.10)	-0.55*** (0.10)
peaceyrs	-0.06*** (0.02)	-0.06*** (0.02)	-0.06*** (0.02)	-0.06*** (0.02)	-0.06*** (0.02)
_spline1	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)
_spline2	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)
_spline3	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)

	-0.88*	-0.85*	-0.83*	-0.88*	-0.85*
_cons	(0.35)	(0.35)	(0.35)	(0.35)	(0.35)
N	20600	20600	20600	20600	20600
pseudo R-sq	0.196	0.190	0.190	0.192	0.192

Standard errors in parentheses

+ p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001

Code for Table H1

```
eststo M1: probit cwinit covertfirc cap_1 cap_2 capshare_1 s_wt_glo s_ld_1 s_ld_2 lndistance
democracy1 democracy2 peaceyrs _spline1 _spline2 _spline3 if ccode1==2 | ccode2==2, robust
cluster(dyad_id)
```

```
eststo M2: probit cwinit covfirc10 cap_1 cap_2 capshare_1 s_wt_glo s_ld_1 s_ld_2 lndistance
democracy1 democracy2 peaceyrs _spline1 _spline2 _spline3 if ccode1==2 | ccode2==2, robust
cluster(dyad_id)
```

```
eststo M3: probit cwinit covleaderfirc10 covinstfirc10 cap_1 cap_2 capshare_1 s_wt_glo s_ld_1
s_ld_2 lndistance democracy1 democracy2 peaceyrs _spline1 _spline2 _spline3 if ccode1==2 |
ccode2==2, robust cluster(dyad_id)
```

```
eststo M4: probit cwinit covfircsucc10 covfircfail10 cap_1 cap_2 capshare_1 s_wt_glo s_ld_1
s_ld_2 lndistance democracy1 democracy2 peaceyrs _spline1 _spline2 _spline3 if ccode1==2 |
ccode2==2, robust cluster(dyad_id)
```

```
eststo M5: probit cwinit covleadfircsucc10 covleadfircfail10 covinstfircfail10 cap_1 cap_2
capshare_1 s_wt_glo s_ld_1 s_ld_2 lndistance democracy1 democracy2 peaceyrs _spline1 _spline2
_spline3 if ccode1==2 | ccode2==2, robust cluster(dyad_id)
```

```
esttab M1 M2 M3 M4 M5 using covfircus.tab, se(2) pr2 b(2) star(+ 0.10 * 0.05 ** 0.01 *** 0.001)
order(covertfirc covfirc10 covleaderfirc10 covinstfirc10 covfircsucc10 covfircfail10
covleadfircsucc10 covleadfircfail10 covinstfircfail10)
```

APPENDIX I. TESTS FOR NON-INDEPENDENCE OF DYADS

Part 1. Eric Neumayer and Thomas Plümper's Spatial Lag Technique¹

Table I1. Overt FIRC and MIDs, Controlling for Different Types of Aggregate Source Contagion

	<i>ik</i>	<i>ki</i>	<i>im</i>	<i>mi</i>
Overt Leadership FIRC	0.26* (0.11)	0.26* (0.11)	0.26* (0.11)	0.26* (0.11)
Overt Institutional FIRC	-0.48 (0.37)	-0.48 (0.37)	-0.48 (0.37)	-0.48 (0.37)
Overt Restoration FIRC	-0.89** (0.34)	-0.90** (0.34)	-0.89** (0.34)	-0.89** (0.34)
Spatial Lag Variable	10.24 (16.34)	11.79 (16.20)	-4.19 (11.62)	-3.72 (11.76)

Table I2. Overt FIRC and MIDs, Controlling for Different Types of Aggregate Target Contagion

	<i>jm</i>	<i>mj</i>	<i>jk</i>	<i>kj</i>
Overt Leadership FIRC	0.26* (0.11)	0.26* (0.11)	0.26* (0.11)	0.26* (0.11)
Overt Institutional FIRC	-0.48 (0.37)	-0.48 (0.37)	-0.48 (0.37)	-0.48 (0.37)
Overt Restoration FIRC	-0.89** (0.34)	-0.89** (0.34)	-0.89** (0.34)	-0.89** (0.34)
Spatial Lag Variable	4.97 (13.33)	6.78 (13.42)	-8.12 (15.90)	-7.94 (15.96)

Table I3. Covert FIRC and MIDs, Controlling for Different Types of Aggregate Source Contagion

	<i>ik</i>	<i>ki</i>	<i>im</i>	<i>mi</i>
Covert FIRC	0.42*** (0.09)	0.42*** (0.09)	0.41*** (0.09)	0.41*** (0.09)
Spatial Lag Variable	12.23 (16.43)	13.64 (16.27)	-2.27 (11.69)	-1.81 (11.84)

Table I4. Covert FIRC and MIDs, Controlling for Different Types of Aggregate Target Contagion

	<i>jm</i>	<i>mj</i>	<i>jk</i>	<i>kj</i>
Covert FIRC	0.42*** (0.09)	0.42*** (0.09)	0.41*** (0.09)	0.41*** (0.09)
Spatial Lag Variable	6.66 (13.35)	8.47 (13.43)	-6.81 (15.95)	-6.75 (16.02)

Table I5. Covert Leadership and Institutional FIRC and MIDs, Controlling for Different Types of Aggregate Source Contagion

	<i>ik</i>	<i>ki</i>	<i>im</i>	<i>mi</i>
Covert Leadership FIRC	0.40*** (0.10)	0.40*** (0.10)	0.39*** (0.10)	0.39*** (0.10)
Covert Institutional FIRC	0.44* (0.22)	0.44* (0.22)	0.44* (0.22)	0.44* (0.22)
Spatial Lag Variable	12.13 (16.42)	13.54 (16.26)	-2.35 (11.68)	-1.89 (11.83)

¹ Eric Neumayer and Thomas Plümper, "Making Spatial Analysis Operational: Commands for Generating Spatial-Effect Variables in Monadic and Dyadic Data," *The Stata Journal*, Vol. 10, No. 4 (2010), pp. 1-21.

Table I6. Covert Leadership and Institutional FIRC and MIDs, Controlling for Different Types of Aggregate Target Contagion

	<i>jm</i>	<i>mj</i>	<i>jk</i>	<i>kj</i>
Covert Leadership FIRC	0.40*** (0.10)	0.40*** (0.10)	0.39*** (0.10)	0.39*** (0.10)
Covert Institutional FIRC	0.44* (0.22)	0.45* (0.22)	0.44* (0.22)	0.44* (0.22)
Spatial Lag Variable	6.58 (13.34)	8.39 (13.43)	-6.91 (15.95)	-6.84 (16.01)

Table I7. Failed Covert Leadership and Institutional FIRC and MIDs, Controlling for Different Types of Aggregate Source Contagion

	<i>ik</i>	<i>ki</i>	<i>im</i>	<i>mi</i>
Failed Covert Leadership FIRC	0.49*** (0.10)	0.50*** (0.10)	0.48*** (0.10)	0.49*** (0.10)
Failed Covert Institutional FIRC	0.74*** (0.16)	0.74*** (0.16)	0.73*** (0.16)	0.73*** (0.16)
Spatial Lag Variable	12.27 (16.42)	13.67 (16.27)	-2.27 (11.68)	-1.82 (11.83)

Table I8. Failed Covert Leadership and Institutional FIRC and MIDs, Controlling for Different Types of Aggregate Target Contagion

	<i>jm</i>	<i>mj</i>	<i>jk</i>	<i>kj</i>
Failed Covert Leadership FIRC	0.49*** (0.11)	0.49*** (0.11)	0.48*** (0.10)	0.48*** (0.10)
Failed Covert Institutional FIRC	0.74*** (0.16)	0.74*** (0.16)	0.73*** (0.16)	0.73*** (0.16)
Spatial Lag Variable	6.67 (13.35)	8.48 (13.44)	-6.81 (15.96)	-6.74 (16.03)

Part 2: Aranow, Samii, and Assenova's Cluster-Robust Variance Estimation Technique²

Table I9. FIRC and MIDs Using the Cluster-Robust Variance Estimator

	1	2	3	4	5
Overt Leadership FIRC	0.26+ (0.15)	-	-	-	-
Overt Institutional FIRC	-0.48 (0.31)	-	-	-	-
Overt Restoration FIRC	-0.88** (0.31)	-	-	-	-
Covert FIRC	-	0.41*** (0.05)	-	-	-
Covert Leadership FIRC	-	-	0.40*** (0.06)	-	-
Covert Institutional FIRC	-	-	0.44 (NaN)	-	-
Failed Covert FIRC	-	-	-	0.53*** (0.05)	-
Failed Covert Leadership FIRC	-	-	-	-	0.49*** (0.06)
Failed Covert Institutional FIRC	-	-	-	-	0.73 (NaN)
Material Capabilities, Side A	1.77*** (0.30)	1.72*** (0.31)	1.72*** (0.31)	1.72*** (0.31)	1.72*** (0.31)
Material Capabilities, Side B	1.51** (0.50)	1.46** (0.50)	1.47** (0.50)	1.47** (0.50)	1.47** (0.50)
Side A's Proportion of Dyadic Capabilities	0.16** (0.06)	0.16** (0.06)	0.16** (0.06)	0.16** (0.06)	0.16** (0.06)
Dyadic S Score	-0.10 (0.13)	-0.10 (0.13)	-0.10 (0.13)	-0.09 (0.13)	-0.09 (0.13)
Side A's S Score with System Leader	-0.03 (0.06)	-0.03 (0.07)	-0.03 (0.07)	-0.03 (0.07)	-0.03 (0.07)
Side B's S Score with System Leader	0.05 (0.06)	0.05 (0.06)	0.05 (0.06)	0.05 (0.06)	0.05 (0.06)
Logged Distance between Capitals	-0.09*** (0.01)	-0.09*** (0.01)	-0.09*** (0.01)	-0.09*** (0.01)	-0.09*** (0.01)
Democracy, Side A	0.09 (0.08)	0.09 (0.08)	0.09 (0.08)	0.09 (0.08)	0.09 (0.08)
Democracy, Side B	0.14* (0.07)	0.14* (0.07)	0.14* (0.07)	0.14* (0.07)	0.14* (0.07)
Joint Democracy	-0.47*** (0.10)	-0.47*** (0.10)	-0.47*** (0.10)	-0.47*** (0.10)	-0.47*** (0.10)
Constant	-1.49*** (0.15)	-1.49*** (0.15)	-1.49*** (0.15)	-1.50*** (0.15)	-1.50*** (0.15)
Wald Chi2	1158.11***	1147.58	1146.84	1162.86	1165.86
Pseudo-R2	0.13	0.13	0.13	0.13	0.13
Log pseudo-likelihood	-9987.56	-9991.15	-9991.80	-9987.74	-9988.28

NOTE: Italics indicate changes in level of statistical significance. NaN stands for "not a number," and means that the cluster robust variance estimator was unable to estimate the standard error for the variable in question. This occurs for covert institutional FIRC and failed covert institutional FIRC, each of which has relatively few cases (ten for the former, five for the latter). This methods thus confirms our finding in the article that the effect of covert institutional FIRC is not robust.

The code used to produce the estimates in Table I9 is available online at <https://dataverse.harvard.edu/dataset.xhtml?persistentId=doi:10.7910/DVN/OMJYE5>.

² Peter M. Aranow, Cyrus Samii, and Valentina A Assenova, "Cluster-Robust Variance Estimation for Dyadic Data," *Political Analysis*, Vol. 23, No. 4 (2015), pp. 564-577.

APPENDIX J. RARE EVENTS LOGIT

Table J1. Relogit, Overt FIRC, All MIDs, 10 Years

	(1) cwinit	(2) cwinit
ovfirc10	-0.15 (0.23)	
ovleaderfirc10		0.50* (0.24)
ovinstfirc10		-0.95 (0.98)
ovrestfirc10		-1.97* (0.99)
cap_1	4.08*** (0.63)	4.13*** (0.63)
cap_2	3.63*** (0.71)	3.64*** (0.71)
capshare_1	0.41** (0.13)	0.41** (0.14)
s_wt_glo	-0.18 (0.11)	-0.18 (0.11)
s_ld_1	-0.07 (0.18)	-0.09 (0.18)
s_ld_2	0.04 (0.18)	0.03 (0.18)
lndistance	-0.23*** (0.01)	-0.23*** (0.01)
democracy1	0.26** (0.09)	0.25** (0.09)
democracy2	0.40*** (0.10)	0.40*** (0.10)
democracy1_2	-1.23*** (0.15)	-1.21*** (0.15)
peaceyrs	-0.21*** (0.01)	-0.21*** (0.01)
_spline1	-0.00*** (0.00)	-0.00*** (0.00)
_spline2	0.00*** (0.00)	0.00*** (0.00)
_spline3	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)
_cons	-2.61*** (0.17)	-2.61*** (0.17)
N	180498	180498
pseudo R-sq		

Standard errors in parentheses
+ p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001

Code for Table J1

```
eststo M1: relogit cwinit ovfirc10 cap_1 cap_2 capshare_1 s_wt_glo s_ld_1 s_ld_2 lndistance  
democracy1 democracy2 democracy1_2 peaceyrs _spline1 _spline2 _spline3, cluster(dyad_id)
```

```
eststo M2: relogit cwinit ovleaderfirc10 ovinstfirc10 ovrestfirc10 cap_1 cap_2 capshare_1  
s_wt_glo s_ld_1 s_ld_2 lndistance democracy1 democracy2 democracy1_2 peaceyrs _spline1 _spline2  
_spline3, cluster(dyad_id)
```

```
esttab M1 M2 using ovremid.tab, se(2) pr2 b(2) star(+ 0.10 * 0.05 ** 0.01 *** 0.001)  
order(ovfirc10 ovleaderfirc10 ovinstfirc10 ovrestfirc10)
```

Table J2. Relogit, Covert FIRC, All MIDs, 10 Years, Part 1

	(1) cwinit	(2) cwinit	(3) cwinit
covertfirc	1.32*** (0.30)		
covfirc10		0.98*** (0.20)	
covleaderfirc10			0.94*** (0.22)
covinstfirc10			1.39** (0.53)
cap_1	3.97*** (0.63)	4.02*** (0.63)	4.02*** (0.63)
cap_2	3.44*** (0.71)	3.53*** (0.72)	3.53*** (0.71)
capshare_1	0.41** (0.13)	0.41** (0.13)	0.41** (0.13)
s_wt_glo	-0.17 (0.11)	-0.16 (0.11)	-0.16 (0.11)
s_ld_1	-0.07 (0.17)	-0.08 (0.17)	-0.08 (0.17)
s_ld_2	0.05 (0.17)	0.05 (0.17)	0.05 (0.17)
lndistance	-0.23*** (0.01)	-0.23*** (0.01)	-0.23*** (0.01)
democracy1	0.24* (0.10)	0.24* (0.10)	0.24* (0.10)
democracy2	0.39*** (0.11)	0.39*** (0.11)	0.39*** (0.11)
democracy1_2	-1.21*** (0.15)	-1.21*** (0.15)	-1.21*** (0.15)
peaceyrs	-0.21*** (0.01)	-0.21*** (0.01)	-0.21*** (0.01)
_spline1	-0.00*** (0.00)	-0.00*** (0.00)	-0.00*** (0.00)
_spline2	0.00*** (0.00)	0.00*** (0.00)	0.00*** (0.00)
_spline3	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)
_cons	-2.61*** (0.17)	-2.63*** (0.17)	-2.63*** (0.17)
N	180498	180498	180498
pseudo R-sq			

Standard errors in parentheses
+ p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001

Code for Table J2

```
eststo M1: relogit cwinit covertfirc cap_1 cap_2 capshare_1 s_wt_glo s_ld_1 s_ld_2 lndistance  
democracy1 democracy2 democracy1_2 peaceyrs _spline1 _spline2 _spline3, cluster(dyad_id)
```

```
eststo M2: relogit cwinit covfirc10 cap_1 cap_2 capshare_1 s_wt_glo s_ld_1 s_ld_2 lndistance  
democracy1 democracy2 democracy1_2 peaceyrs _spline1 _spline2 _spline3, cluster(dyad_id)
```

```
eststo M3: relogit cwinit covleaderfirc10 covinstfirc10 cap_1 cap_2 capshare_1 s_wt_glo s_ld_1  
s_ld_2 lndistance democracy1 democracy2 democracy1_2 peaceyrs _spline1 _spline2 _spline3,  
cluster(dyad_id)
```

```
esttab M1 M2 M3 using covremid.tab, se(2) pr2 b(2) star(+ 0.10 * 0.05 ** 0.01 *** 0.001)  
order(covertfirc covfirc10 covleaderfirc10 covinstfirc10)
```

Table J3. Relogit, Covert FIRC, All MIDs, 10 Years, Part 2 (Success and Failure)

	(1) cwinit	(2) cwinit	(3) cwinit
covfircsucc10	0.19 (0.69)		
covfircfail10	1.18*** (0.22)		
covleadfircsucc10		0.32 (0.69)	
covleadfircfail10			1.08*** (0.24)
covinstfircfail10			1.95*** (0.33)
cap_1	4.02*** (0.63)	4.06*** (0.63)	4.02*** (0.63)
cap_2	3.53*** (0.72)	3.61*** (0.71)	3.54*** (0.72)
capshare_1	0.41** (0.13)	0.41** (0.13)	0.41** (0.13)
s_wt_glo	-0.15 (0.11)	-0.18 (0.11)	-0.15 (0.11)
s_ld_1	-0.08 (0.17)	-0.07 (0.18)	-0.08 (0.17)
s_ld_2	0.05 (0.17)	0.04 (0.18)	0.05 (0.17)
lndistance	-0.22*** (0.01)	-0.23*** (0.01)	-0.22*** (0.01)
democracy1	0.24* (0.10)	0.26** (0.09)	0.24* (0.10)
democracy2	0.39*** (0.11)	0.41*** (0.10)	0.39*** (0.11)
democracy1_2	-1.20*** (0.15)	-1.23*** (0.15)	-1.20*** (0.15)
peaceyrs	-0.21*** (0.01)	-0.21*** (0.01)	-0.21*** (0.01)
_spline1	-0.00*** (0.00)	-0.00*** (0.00)	-0.00*** (0.00)
_spline2	0.00*** (0.00)	0.00*** (0.00)	0.00*** (0.00)
_spline3	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)
_cons	-2.64*** (0.17)	-2.61*** (0.17)	-2.63*** (0.17)
N	180498	180498	180498
pseudo R-sq			

Standard errors in parentheses

+ p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001

Code for Table J3

```
eststo M1: relogit cwinit covfircsucc10 covfircfail10 cap_1 cap_2 capshare_1 s_wt_glo s_ld_1  
s_ld_2 lndistance democracy1 democracy2 democracy1_2 peaceyrs _spline1 _spline2 _spline3,  
cluster(dyad_id)
```

```
#covinstfircsucc10 perfectly predicts zero.
```

```
eststo M2: relogit cwinit covleadfircsucc10 cap_1 cap_2 capshare_1 s_wt_glo s_ld_1 s_ld_2  
lndistance democracy1 democracy2 democracy1_2 peaceyrs _spline1 _spline2 _spline3,  
cluster(dyad_id)
```

```
eststo M3: relogit cwinit covleadfircfail10 covinstfircfail10 cap_1 cap_2 capshare_1 s_wt_glo  
s_ld_1 s_ld_2 lndistance democracy1 democracy2 democracy1_2 peaceyrs _spline1 _spline2 _spline3,  
cluster(dyad_id)
```

```
esttab M1 M2 M3 using covsuccfailremid.tab, se(2) pr2 b(2) star(+ 0.10 * 0.05 ** 0.01 *** 0.001)  
order(covfircsucc10 covfircfail10 covleadfircsucc10 covleadfircfail10 covinstfircfail10)
```

APPENDIX K. FIXED EFFECTS MODELS

Table K1. Overt FIRC with Fixed Effects

	(1) cwinit	(2) cwinit
ovfirc10	-0.15 (0.21)	
ovleaderfirc10		0.34 (0.23)
ovinstfirc10		-1.15 (0.75)
ovrestfirc10		-2.35* (1.02)
cap_1	2.22** (0.82)	2.24** (0.82)
cap_2	1.16 (1.02)	1.14 (1.02)
capshare_1	0.48 (0.37)	0.48 (0.37)
s_wt_glo	-0.64*** (0.12)	-0.63*** (0.12)
s_ld_1	-0.50** (0.16)	-0.51** (0.16)
s_ld_2	0.32+ (0.17)	0.32+ (0.17)
lndistance	-0.12*** (0.03)	-0.13*** (0.03)
democracy1	0.02 (0.10)	0.01 (0.10)
democracy2	0.29** (0.09)	0.29** (0.09)
democracy1_2	-0.55*** (0.14)	-0.55*** (0.14)
peaceyrs	-0.13*** (0.01)	-0.13*** (0.01)
_spline1	-0.00*** (0.00)	-0.00*** (0.00)
_spline2	0.00*** (0.00)	0.00*** (0.00)
_spline3	-0.00*** (0.00)	-0.00*** (0.00)
N	55233	55233
pseudo R-sq	0.030	0.032

Standard errors in parentheses

+ p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001

Code for Table K1

```
eststo M1: xtlogit cwinit ovfirc10 cap_1 cap_2 capshare_1 s_wt_glo s_ld_1 s_ld_2 lndistance  
democracy1 democracy2 democracy1_2 peaceyrs _spline1 _spline2 _spline3, fe
```

```
eststo M2: xtlogit cwinit ovleaderfirc10 ovinstfirc10 ovrestfirc10 cap_1 cap_2 capshare_1  
s_wt_glo s_ld_1 s_ld_2 lndistance democracy1 democracy2 democracy1_2 peaceyrs _spline1 _spline2  
_spline3, fe
```

```
esttab M1 M2 using ovfe.tab, se(2) pr2 b(2) star(+ 0.10 * 0.05 ** 0.01 *** 0.001) order(ovfirc10  
ovleaderfirc10 ovinstfirc10 ovrestfirc10)
```

Table K2. Fixed Effects Models: Covert FIRC, Part 1

	(1) cwinit	(2) cwinit	(3) cwinit
covertfirc	0.60* (0.24)		
covfirc10		0.37+ (0.22)	
covleaderfirc10			0.30 (0.23)
covinstfirc10			0.66 (0.79)
cap_1	2.18** (0.82)	2.27** (0.82)	2.28** (0.82)
cap_2	0.99 (1.03)	1.16 (1.03)	1.16 (1.02)
capshare_1	0.47 (0.37)	0.48 (0.37)	0.47 (0.37)
s_wt_glo	-0.64*** (0.12)	-0.63*** (0.12)	-0.63*** (0.12)
s_ld_1	-0.50** (0.16)	-0.51** (0.16)	-0.51** (0.16)
s_ld_2	0.34* (0.17)	0.33+ (0.17)	0.33+ (0.17)
lndistance	-0.13*** (0.03)	-0.12*** (0.03)	-0.12*** (0.03)
democracy1	0.01 (0.10)	0.02 (0.10)	0.02 (0.10)
democracy2	0.28** (0.09)	0.29** (0.09)	0.29** (0.09)
democracy1_2	-0.55*** (0.14)	-0.55*** (0.14)	-0.56*** (0.14)
peaceyrs	-0.13*** (0.01)	-0.13*** (0.01)	-0.13*** (0.01)
_spline1	-0.00*** (0.00)	-0.00*** (0.00)	-0.00*** (0.00)
_spline2	0.00*** (0.00)	0.00*** (0.00)	0.00*** (0.00)
_spline3	-0.00*** (0.00)	-0.00*** (0.00)	-0.00*** (0.00)
N	55233	55233	55233
pseudo R-sq	0.031	0.031	0.031

Standard errors in parentheses

+ p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001

Code for Table K2

```
eststo M1: xtlogit cwinit covertfirc cap_1 cap_2 capshare_1 s_wt_glo s_ld_1 s_ld_2 lndistance  
democracy1 democracy2 democracy1_2 peaceyrs _spline1 _spline2 _spline3, fe
```

```
eststo M2: xtlogit cwinit covfirc10 cap_1 cap_2 capshare_1 s_wt_glo s_ld_1 s_ld_2 lndistance  
democracy1 democracy2 democracy1_2 peaceyrs _spline1 _spline2 _spline3, fe
```

```
eststo M3: xtlogit cwinit covleaderfirc10 covinstfirc10 cap_1 cap_2 capshare_1 s_wt_glo s_ld_1  
s_ld_2 lndistance democracy1 democracy2 democracy1_2 peaceyrs _spline1 _spline2 _spline3, fe
```

```
esttab M1 M2 M3 using covfe.tab, se(2) pr2 b(2) star(+ 0.10 * 0.05 ** 0.01 *** 0.001)  
order(covertfirc covfirc10 covleaderfirc10 covinstfirc10)
```

Table K3. Fixed Effects Models, Covert FIRC, Part 2 (Success And Failure)

	(1) cwinit	(2) cwinit	(3) cwinit
covfircsucc10	-0.83 (0.73)		
covfircfail10	0.60** (0.23)		
covleadfircsucc10		-0.70 (0.73)	
covinstfircsucc10		-11.75 (471.50)	
covleadfircfail10			0.50* (0.24)
covinstfircfail10			1.73* (0.77)
cap_1	2.30** (0.82)	2.18** (0.82)	2.39** (0.82)
cap_2	1.17 (1.03)	1.16 (1.02)	1.14 (1.03)
capshare_1	0.47 (0.37)	0.49 (0.37)	0.45 (0.37)
s_wt_glo	-0.62*** (0.12)	-0.64*** (0.12)	-0.62*** (0.12)
s_ld_1	-0.50** (0.16)	-0.49** (0.16)	-0.51** (0.16)
s_ld_2	0.32+ (0.17)	0.32+ (0.17)	0.33+ (0.17)
lndistance	-0.12*** (0.03)	-0.12*** (0.03)	-0.12*** (0.03)
democracy1	0.01 (0.10)	0.01 (0.10)	0.02 (0.10)
democracy2	0.29** (0.09)	0.29** (0.09)	0.28** (0.09)
democracy1_2	-0.54*** (0.14)	-0.54*** (0.14)	-0.55*** (0.14)
peaceyrs	-0.13*** (0.01)	-0.13*** (0.01)	-0.13*** (0.01)
_spline1	-0.00*** (0.00)	-0.00*** (0.00)	-0.00*** (0.00)
_spline2	0.00*** (0.00)	0.00*** (0.00)	0.00*** (0.00)
_spline3	-0.00*** (0.00)	-0.00*** (0.00)	-0.00*** (0.00)
N	55233	55233	55233
pseudo R-sq	0.031	0.031	0.031

Standard errors in parentheses

+ p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001

Code for Table K3

```
eststo M1: xtlogit cwinit covfircsucc10 covfircfail10 cap_1 cap_2 capshare_1 s_wt_glo s_ld_1  
s_ld_2 lndistance democracy1 democracy2 democracy1_2 peaceyrs _spline1 _spline2 _spline3, fe
```

```
eststo M2: xtlogit cwinit covleadfircsucc10 covinstfircsucc10 cap_1 cap_2 capshare_1 s_wt_glo  
s_ld_1 s_ld_2 lndistance democracy1 democracy2 democracy1_2 peaceyrs _spline1 _spline2 _spline3,  
fe
```

```
eststo M3: xtlogit cwinit covleadfircfail10 covinstfircfail10 cap_1 cap_2 capshare_1 s_wt_glo  
s_ld_1 s_ld_2 lndistance democracy1 democracy2 democracy1_2 peaceyrs _spline1 _spline2 _spline3,  
fe
```

```
esttab M1 M2 M3 using covsffe.tab, se(2) pr2 b(2) star(+ 0.10 * 0.05 ** 0.01 *** 0.001)  
order(covfircsucc10 covfircfail10 covleadfircsucc10 covinstfircsucc10 covleadfircfail10  
covinstfircfail10)
```

APPENDIX L. COMPARING 10 YEARS BEFORE FIRC TO 10 YEARS AFTER FIRC

Table L1. Overt FIRC, 10 Years Before vs. 10 Years After

	(1) cwinit	(2) cwinit	(3) cwinit	(4) cwinit
preovfirc10	0.42*** (0.07)			
ovfirc10	-0.06 (0.10)			
preleadfirc10		0.50*** (0.10)		
ovleaderfirc10		0.25* (0.11)		
preinstfirc10			0.41*** (0.11)	
ovinstfirc10			-0.47 (0.37)	
prerestfirc10				0.23* (0.11)
ovrestfirc10				-0.89** (0.34)
cap_1	1.70*** (0.26)	1.72*** (0.26)	1.74*** (0.26)	1.75*** (0.26)
cap_2	1.47*** (0.29)	1.48*** (0.29)	1.48*** (0.29)	1.50*** (0.29)
capshare_1	0.16** (0.05)	0.16** (0.05)	0.16** (0.05)	0.16** (0.05)
s_wt_glo	-0.10* (0.05)	-0.10* (0.05)	-0.10* (0.05)	-0.10* (0.05)
s_ld_1	-0.03 (0.07)	-0.03 (0.07)	-0.03 (0.07)	-0.03 (0.07)
s_ld_2	0.04 (0.07)	0.04 (0.07)	0.05 (0.07)	0.05 (0.07)
lndistance	-0.09*** (0.00)	-0.09*** (0.00)	-0.09*** (0.00)	-0.09*** (0.00)
democracy1	0.10* (0.04)	0.09* (0.04)	0.09* (0.04)	0.09* (0.04)
democracy2	0.15*** (0.04)	0.15*** (0.04)	0.14*** (0.04)	0.14*** (0.04)
democracy1_2	-0.48*** (0.06)	-0.47*** (0.06)	-0.47*** (0.06)	-0.47*** (0.06)
peaceyrs	-0.09*** (0.01)	-0.09*** (0.01)	-0.09*** (0.01)	-0.09*** (0.01)
_spline1	-0.00*** (0.00)	-0.00*** (0.00)	-0.00*** (0.00)	-0.00*** (0.00)
_spline2	0.00*** (0.00)	0.00*** (0.00)	0.00*** (0.00)	0.00*** (0.00)
_spline3	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)
_cons	-1.49*** (0.07)	-1.49*** (0.07)	-1.49*** (0.07)	-1.49*** (0.07)
N	180498	180498	180498	180498
pseudo R-sq	0.135	0.135	0.134	0.134

Standard errors in parentheses

+ p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001

Code for Table L1

```
eststo M1: probit cwinit preovfirc10 ovfirc10 cap_1 cap_2 capshare_1 s_wt_glo s_ld_1 s_ld_2
lndistance democracy1 democracy2 democracy1_2 peaceyrs _spline1 _spline2 _spline3, robust
cluster(dyad_id)

eststo M2: probit cwinit preleadfirc10 ovleaderfirc10 cap_1 cap_2 capshare_1 s_wt_glo s_ld_1
s_ld_2 lndistance democracy1 democracy2 democracy1_2 peaceyrs _spline1 _spline2 _spline3, robust
cluster(dyad_id)

eststo M3: probit cwinit preinstfirc10 ovinstfirc10 cap_1 cap_2 capshare_1 s_wt_glo s_ld_1 s_ld_2
lndistance democracy1 democracy2 democracy1_2 peaceyrs _spline1 _spline2 _spline3, robust
cluster(dyad_id)

eststo M4: probit cwinit prerestfirc10 ovrestfirc10 cap_1 cap_2 capshare_1 s_wt_glo s_ld_1 s_ld_2
lndistance democracy1 democracy2 democracy1_2 peaceyrs _spline1 _spline2 _spline3, robust
cluster(dyad_id)

esttab M1 M2 M3 M4 using preovfirc.tab, se(2) pr2 b(2) star(+ 0.10 * 0.05 ** 0.01 *** 0.001)
order(preovfirc10 ovfirc10 preleadfirc10 ovleaderfirc10 preinstfirc10 ovinstfirc10 prerestfirc10
ovrestfirc10)
```

Testing for Equality of Coefficients, 10 Years before vs. 10 Years after, Overt FIRC

```
probit cwinit preovfirc10 ovfirc10 cap_1 cap_2 capshare_1 s_wt_glo s_ld_1 s_ld_2 lndistance
democracy1 democracy2 democracy1_2 peaceyrs _spline1 _spline2 _spline3, robust cluster(dyad_id)
```

```
test ovfirc10 = preovfirc10
```

```
( 1) - [cwinit]preovfirc10 + [cwinit]ovfirc10 = 0
```

```
      chi2( 1) =    20.43
      Prob > chi2 =    0.0000
```

```
probit cwinit preleadfirc10 ovleaderfirc10 cap_1 cap_2 capshare_1 s_wt_glo s_ld_1 s_ld_2
lndistance democracy1 democracy2 democracy1_2 peaceyrs _spline1 _spline2 _spline3, robust
cluster(dyad_id)
```

```
test ovleaderfirc10 = preleadfirc10
```

```
( 1) - [cwinit]preleadfirc10 + [cwinit]ovleaderfirc10 = 0
```

```
      chi2( 1) =     4.29
      Prob > chi2 =    0.0383
```

```
probit cwinit preinstfirc10 ovinstfirc10 cap_1 cap_2 capshare_1 s_wt_glo s_ld_1 s_ld_2 lndistance
democracy1 democracy2 democracy1_2 peaceyrs _spline1 _spline2 _spline3, robust cluster(dyad_id)
```

```
test ovinstfirc10 = preinstfirc10
```

```
( 1) - [cwinit]preinstfirc10 + [cwinit]ovinstfirc10 = 0
```

```
      chi2( 1) =     5.31
      Prob > chi2 =    0.0212
```

```
probit cwinit prerestfirc10 ovrestfirc10 cap_1 cap_2 capshare_1 s_wt_glo s_ld_1 s_ld_2 lndistance
democracy1 democracy2 democracy1_2 peaceyrs _spline1 _spline2 _spline3, robust cluster(dyad_id)
```

```
test ovrestfirc10 = prerestfirc10
```

```
( 1) - [cwinit]prerestfirc10 + [cwinit]ovrestfirc10 = 0
```

```
      chi2( 1) =     9.15
      Prob > chi2 =    0.0025
```

Table L2. Covert FIRC, 10 Years before vs. 10 Years after

	(1) cwinit	(2) cwinit	(3) cwinit
precovfirc10	0.11 (0.12)		
covfirc10	0.40*** (0.09)		
precovleadfirc10		0.14 (0.14)	
covleaderfirc10		0.39*** (0.10)	
precovinstfirc10			0.23 (0.22)
covinstfirc10			0.46* (0.21)
cap_1	1.71*** (0.26)	1.71*** (0.26)	1.74*** (0.26)
cap_2	1.45*** (0.29)	1.45*** (0.29)	1.50*** (0.29)
capshare_1	0.16** (0.05)	0.16** (0.05)	0.16** (0.05)
s_wt_glo	-0.10* (0.05)	-0.10* (0.05)	-0.11* (0.05)
s_ld_1	-0.03 (0.07)	-0.03 (0.07)	-0.03 (0.07)
s_ld_2	0.05 (0.07)	0.05 (0.07)	0.05 (0.07)
lndistance	-0.09*** (0.00)	-0.09*** (0.00)	-0.09*** (0.00)
democracy1	0.09* (0.04)	0.09* (0.04)	0.09* (0.04)
democracy2	0.14** (0.04)	0.14** (0.04)	0.14*** (0.04)
democracy1_2	-0.47*** (0.06)	-0.47*** (0.06)	-0.48*** (0.06)
peaceyrs	-0.09*** (0.01)	-0.09*** (0.01)	-0.09*** (0.01)
_spline1	-0.00*** (0.00)	-0.00*** (0.00)	-0.00*** (0.00)
_spline2	0.00*** (0.00)	0.00*** (0.00)	0.00*** (0.00)
_spline3	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)
_cons	-1.49*** (0.07)	-1.49*** (0.07)	-1.49*** (0.07)
N	180498	180498	180498
pseudo R-sq	0.134	0.134	0.133

Standard errors in parentheses

+ p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001

Code for Table L2

```
eststo M1: probit cwinit covfirc10 precovfirc10 cap_1 cap_2 capshare_1 s_wt_glo s_ld_1 s_ld_2  
lndistance democracy1 democracy2 democracy1_2 peaceyrs _spline1 _spline2 _spline3, robust  
cluster(dyad_id)
```

```
eststo M2: probit cwinit covleaderfirc10 precovleadfirc10 cap_1 cap_2 capshare_1 s_wt_glo s_ld_1  
s_ld_2 lndistance democracy1 democracy2 democracy1_2 peaceyrs _spline1 _spline2 _spline3, robust  
cluster(dyad_id)
```

```
eststo M3: probit cwinit covinstfirc10 precovinstfirc10 cap_1 cap_2 capshare_1 s_wt_glo s_ld_1  
s_ld_2 lndistance democracy1 democracy2 democracy1_2 peaceyrs _spline1 _spline2 _spline3, robust  
cluster(dyad_id)
```

```
esttab M1 M2 M3 using precovfirc.tab, se(2) pr2 b(2) star(+ 0.10 * 0.05 ** 0.01 *** 0.001)  
order(precovfirc10 covfirc10 precovleadfirc10 covleaderfirc10 precovinstfirc10 covinstfirc10)
```

Testing for Equality of Coefficients, 10 Years before vs. 10 Years after, Covert FIRC

```
probit cwinit covfirc10 precovfirc10 cap_1 cap_2 capshare_1 s_wt_glo s_ld_1 s_ld_2 lndistance  
democracy1 democracy2 democracy1_2 peaceyrs _splinel _spline2 _spline3, robust cluster(dyad_id)
```

```
test covfirc10 = precovfirc10
```

```
( 1) [cwinit]covfirc10 - [cwinit]precovfirc10 = 0
```

```
      chi2( 1) =    3.43  
      Prob > chi2 =    0.0640
```

```
probit cwinit covleaderfirc10 precovleadfirc10 cap_1 cap_2 capshare_1 s_wt_glo s_ld_1 s_ld_2  
lndistance democracy1 democracy2 democracy1_2 peaceyrs _splinel _spline2 _spline3, robust  
cluster(dyad_id)
```

```
test covleaderfirc10 = precovleadfirc10
```

```
( 1) [cwinit]covleaderfirc10 - [cwinit]precovleadfirc10 = 0
```

```
      chi2( 1) =    2.24  
      Prob > chi2 =    0.1346
```

```
probit cwinit covinstfirc10 precovinstfirc10 cap_1 cap_2 capshare_1 s_wt_glo s_ld_1 s_ld_2  
lndistance democracy1 democracy2 democracy1_2 peaceyrs _splinel _spline2 _spline3, robust  
cluster(dyad_id)
```

```
test covinstfirc10 = precovinstfirc10
```

```
( 1) [cwinit]covinstfirc10 - [cwinit]precovinstfirc10 = 0
```

```
      chi2( 1) =    0.50  
      Prob > chi2 =    0.4816
```

APPENDIX M: MATCHING RESULTS

This appendix shows the results of genetic matching performed in R for each of the FIRC variables in our analysis. For each FIRC type, we show the summary of balance attained after matching; plots that visually display balance; and Stata output (t-tests and probit models) showing the effect of each type of FIRC after matching. As reported in the article, the only change in the results is that overt leadership FIRC becomes insignificant (although still positive) after matching is performed. Consistent with other robustness tests, covert institutional FIRC loses statistical significance as well.

The dependent variable in this analysis is a dummy variable signifying whether a MID occurred at any point during the ten years after the year in which FIRC occurred. It is necessary to use this variable since we can use only the actual FIRC-year for matching or else risk post-treatment bias. For overt FIRCs, coding is unproblematic, since these FIRCs all succeed in overturning the target government in a particular year. For covert FIRCs, we code the FIRC as occurring in the final year of the operation, whether it succeeded or failed. The dependent variable is then coded as starting in the following year (e.g., if a covert operation lasted from 1949 to 1954, it is coded for the purposes of matching as occurring in 1954, and we then assess the effect of the operation on MIDs occurring in 1955 and later).

To create the matched datasets, we excluded non-FIRC years from dyads that experienced FIRC to ensure that a dyad was not matched to itself in an earlier or later year. For example, in the dataset of overt leadership FIRCs used for matching, we excluded all years for the Vietnam-Cambodia (and Cambodia-Vietnam) dyad other than 1979, the year that FIRC occurred.

Careful readers may note that matching consistently worsens balance on the "capshare_1" variable. This is because balance on this variable was nearly perfect before matching. In all cases, matching only slightly increases the divergence in means between treated and control cases, but because the difference was essentially zero before matching, the percent change looks large.

The matched datasets are available from the authors by request.

OVERT FIRIC (ALL)

library(foreign)
library(MatchIt)
library(Matching)
library(rgenoud)

ovfirc=read.dta("ovfircmidformatchoct16.dta")

ovfirc.out1 <- matchit(overtfirc ~ cap_1 + cap_2 + capshare_1 + s_wt_glo + s_ld_1 + s_ld_2 +
lndistance + democracy1 + democracy2 + democracy1_2 + peaceyrs + splinel + spline2 + spline3,
data=ovfirc, method="genetic", pop.size=200)

summary(ovfirc.out1)

Call:

matchit(formula = overtfirc ~ cap_1 + cap_2 + capshare_1 + s_wt_glo +
s_ld_1 + s_ld_2 + lndistance + democracy1 + democracy2 +
democracy1_2 + peaceyrs + splinel + spline2 + spline3, data = ovfirc,
method = "genetic", pop.size = 200)

Summary of balance for all data:

Table with 10 columns: Means Treated, Means Control, SD Control, Mean Diff, eQQ Med, eQQ Mean, eQQ Max. Rows include variables like distance, cap_1, cap_2, capshare_1, s_wt_glo, s_ld_1, s_ld_2, lndistance, democracy1, democracy2, democracy1_2, peaceyrs, splinel, spline2, spline3.

Summary of balance for matched data:

Table with 10 columns: Means Treated, Means Control, SD Control, Mean Diff, eQQ Med, eQQ Mean, eQQ Max. Rows include variables like distance, cap_1, cap_2, capshare_1, s_wt_glo, s_ld_1, s_ld_2, lndistance, democracy1, democracy2, democracy1_2, peaceyrs, splinel, spline2, spline3.

Percent Balance Improvement:

Table with 5 columns: Mean Diff., eQQ Med, eQQ Mean, eQQ Max. Rows include variables like distance, cap_1, cap_2, capshare_1, s_wt_glo, s_ld_1, s_ld_2, lndistance, democracy1, democracy2, democracy1_2, peaceyrs, splinel.

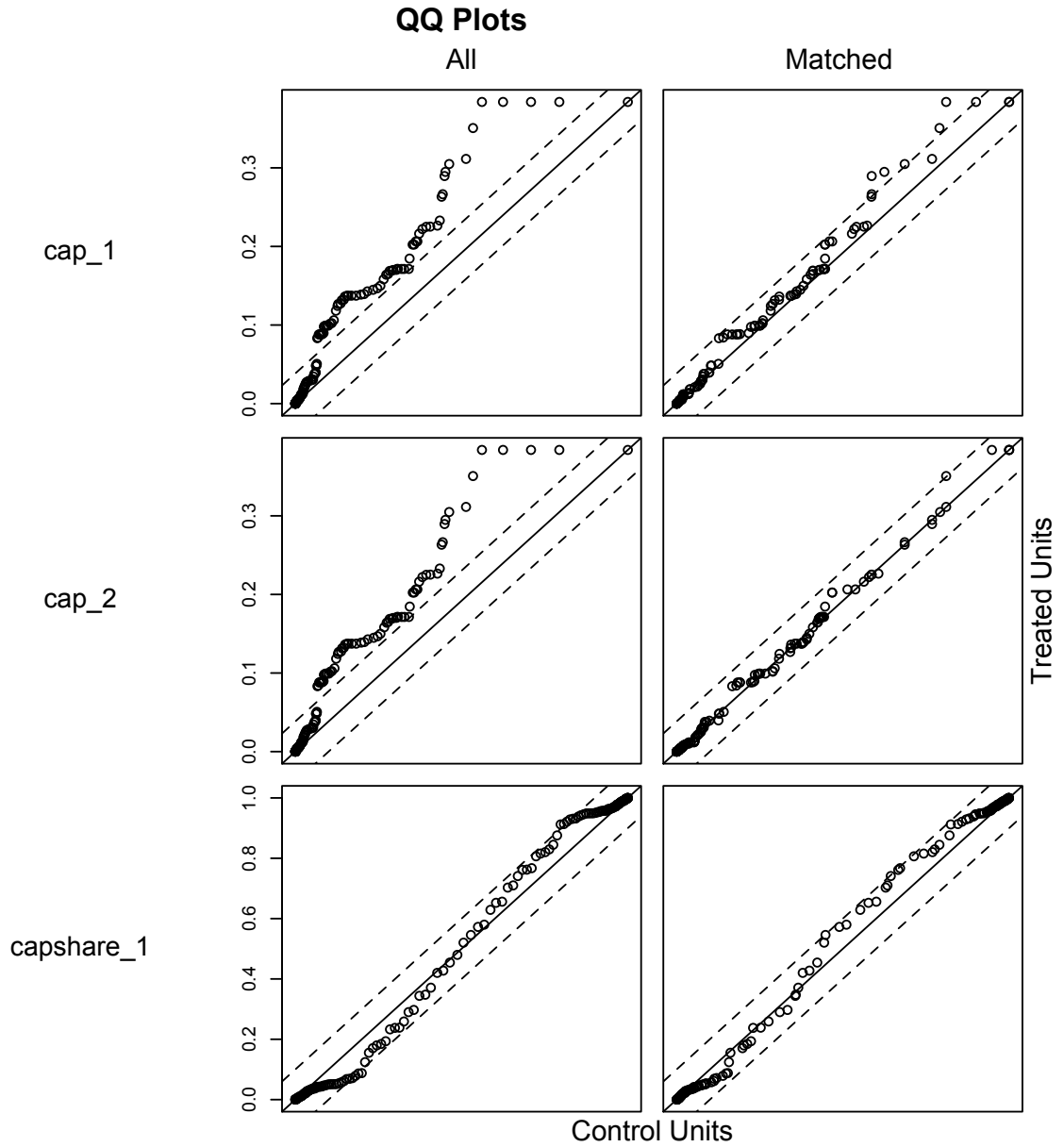
```

spline2      97.8373  99.4992  79.6777  82.5210
spline3      96.6471  99.5118  80.1435  83.2685

```

Sample sizes:

	Control	Treated
All	166577	190
Matched	174	190
Unmatched	166403	0
Discarded	0	0

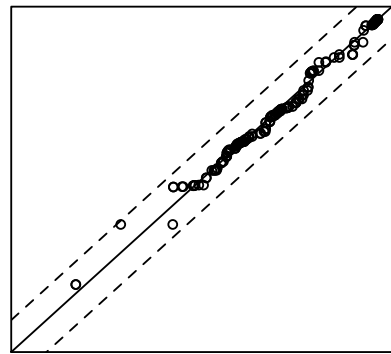
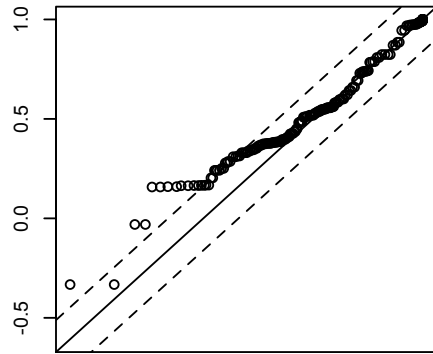


QQ Plots

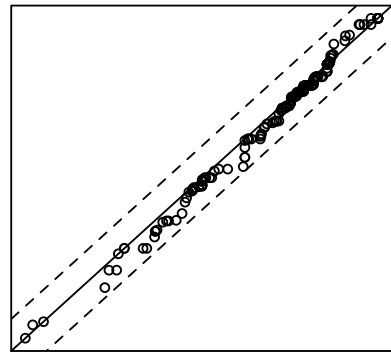
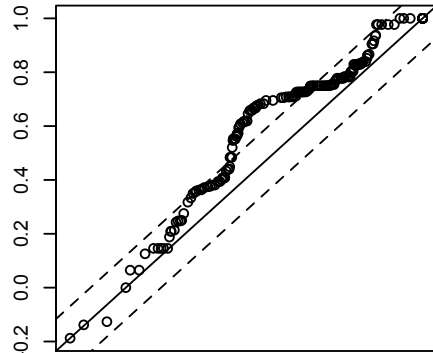
All

Matched

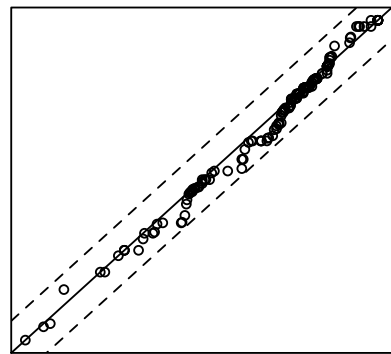
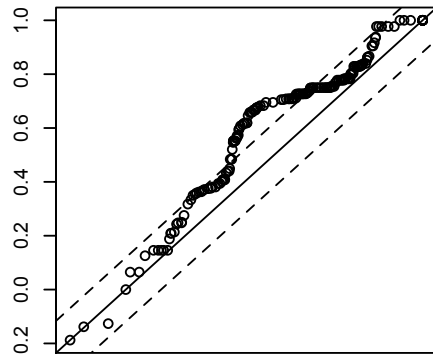
s_wt_glo



s_ld_1



s_ld_2



Treated Units

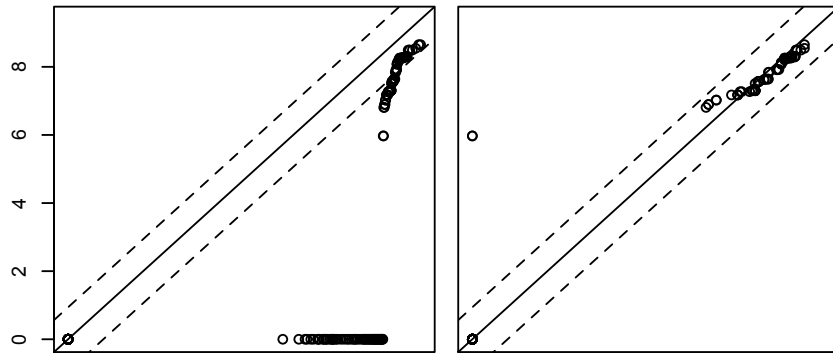
Control Units

QQ Plots

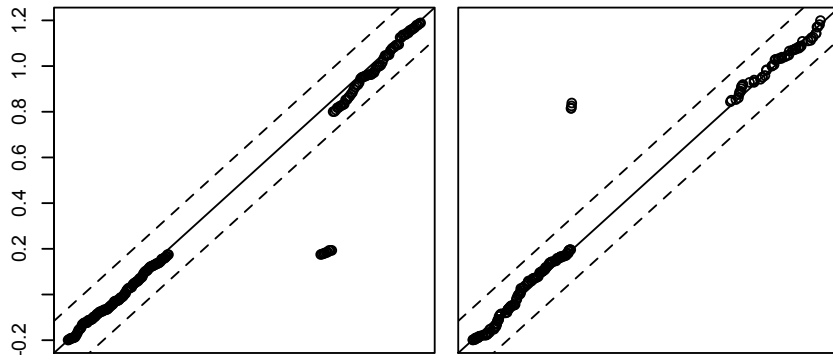
All

Matched

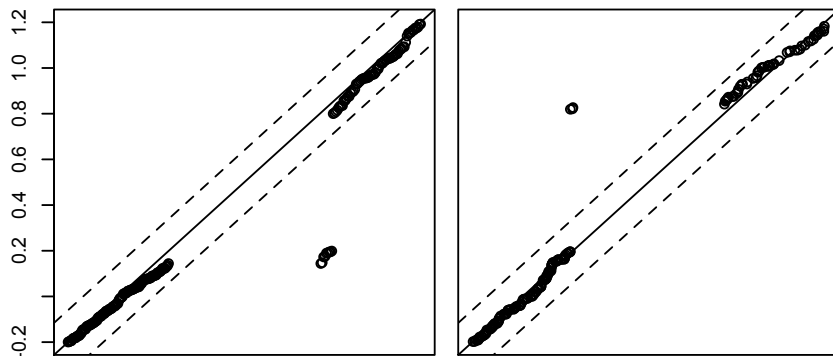
Indistance



democracy1

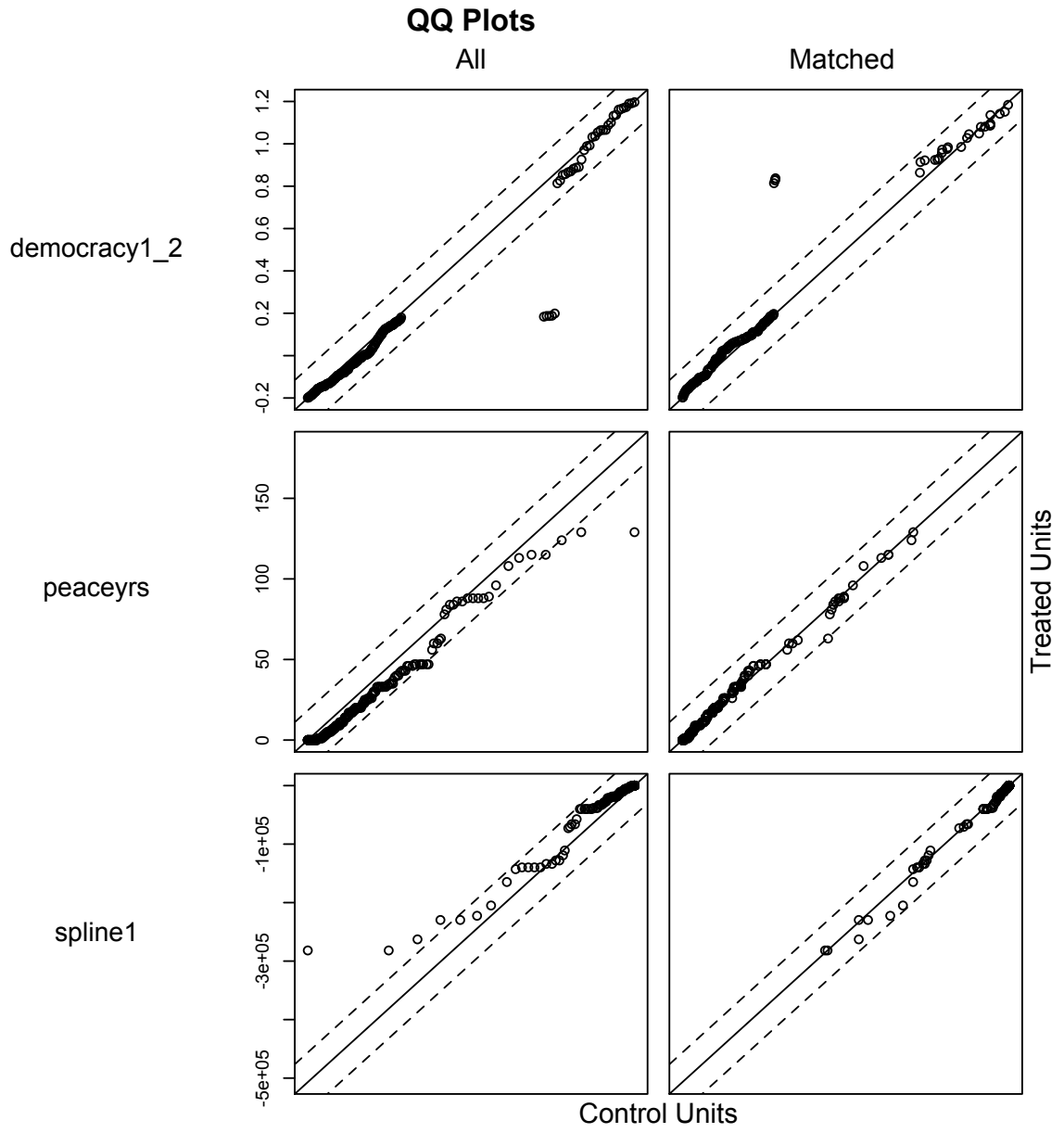


democracy2

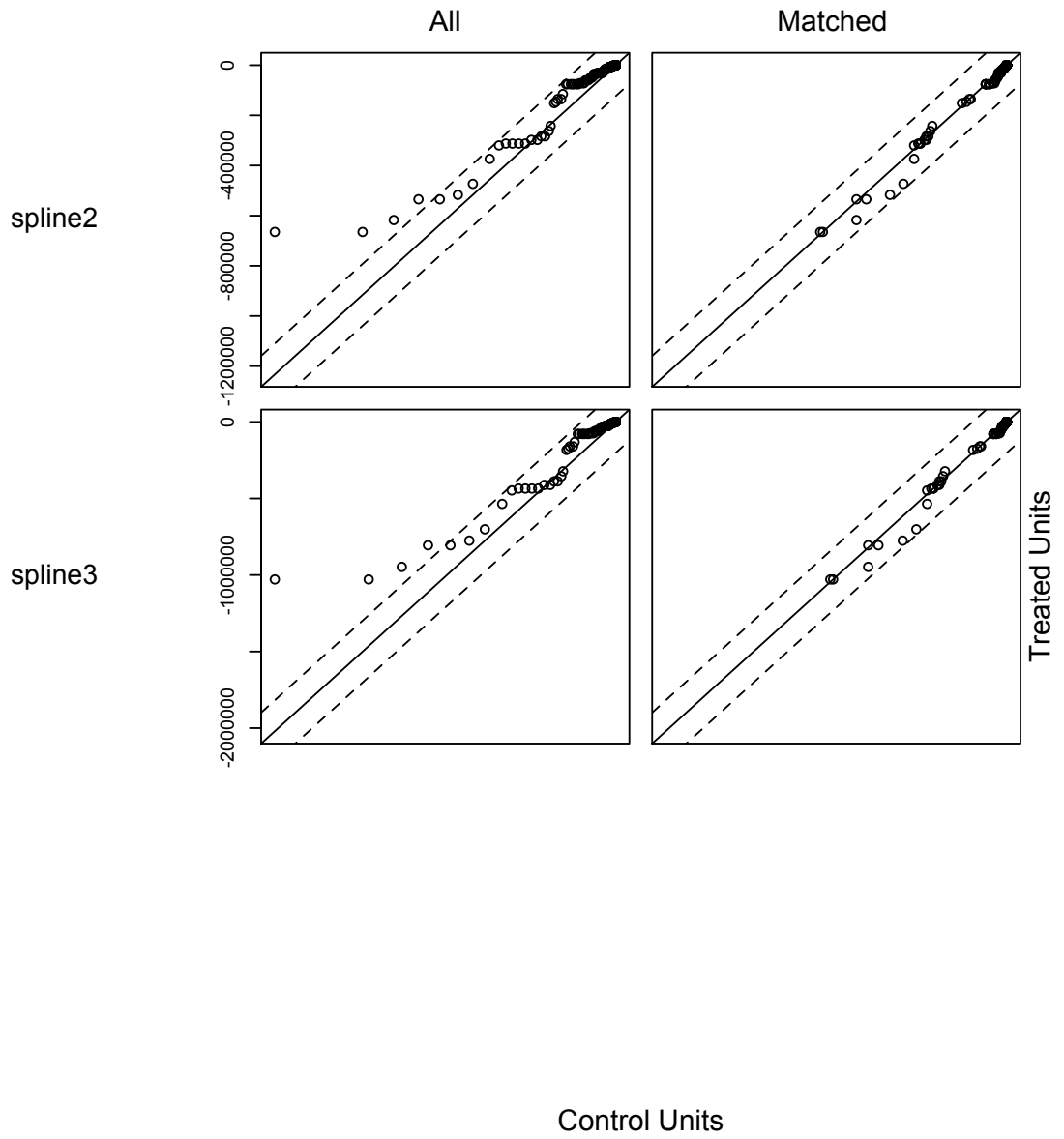


Treated Units

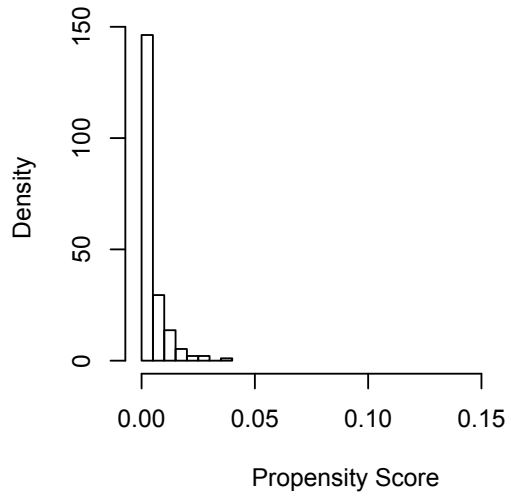
Control Units



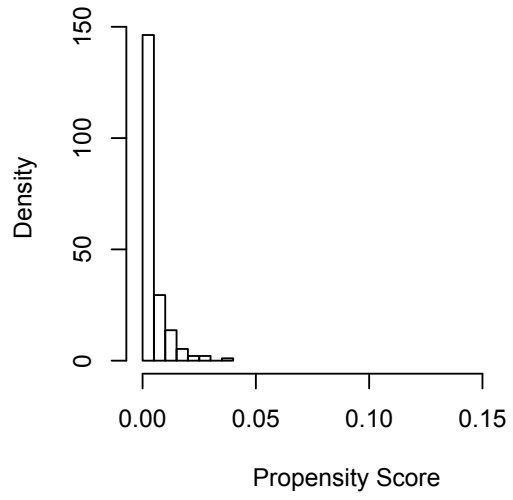
QQ Plots



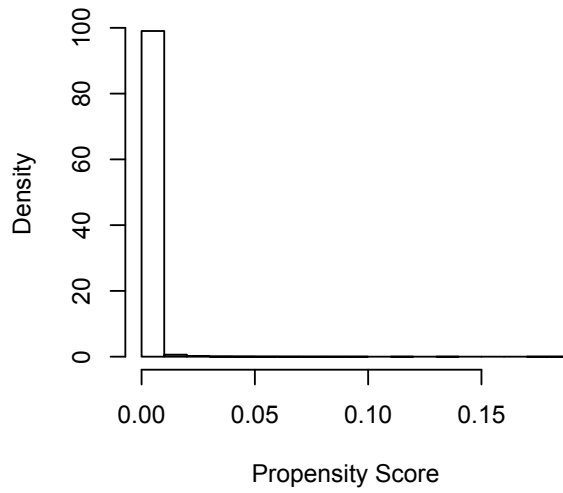
Raw Treated



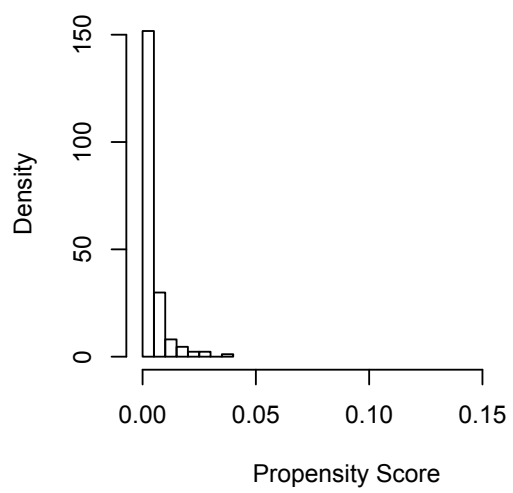
Matched Treated



Raw Control



Matched Control



OVERT FIRC (ALL): ANALYSIS OF MATCHED DATA

use "/Users/downes/Dropbox/O'Rourke Downes FIRC Folder/FIRC and MIDs/Data and Analysis/Matching
 October 2016/ovfircmidgenmatchoct16.dta"
 (Written by R.)

ttest cwinit10, by(overtfirc)

Two-sample t test with equal variances

Group	Obs	Mean	Std. Err.	Std. Dev.	[95% Conf. Interval]	
0	174	.1436782	.026668	.3517754	.0910416	.1963147
1	190	.1473684	.0257841	.3554093	.0965068	.19823
combined	364	.1456044	.0185124	.3531947	.1091993	.1820095
diff		-.0036903	.0371113		-.0766711	.0692906
diff = mean(0) - mean(1)					t = -0.0994	
Ho: diff = 0					degrees of freedom = 362	

Ha: diff < 0 Ha: diff != 0 Ha: diff > 0
 Pr(T < t) = 0.4604 Pr(|T| > |t|) = 0.9208 Pr(T > t) = 0.5396

ttest midinit_fatal10, by(overtfirc)

Two-sample t test with equal variances

Group	Obs	Mean	Std. Err.	Std. Dev.	[95% Conf. Interval]	
0	174	.0977011	.0225737	.297767	.0531459	.1422564
1	190	.0947368	.0213018	.2936248	.052717	.1367566
combined	364	.0961538	.0154731	.2952079	.0657257	.126582
diff		.0029643	.0310185		-.0580348	.0639634
diff = mean(0) - mean(1)					t = 0.0956	
Ho: diff = 0					degrees of freedom = 362	

Ha: diff < 0 Ha: diff != 0 Ha: diff > 0
 Pr(T < t) = 0.5380 Pr(|T| > |t|) = 0.9239 Pr(T > t) = 0.4620

ttest midinit_war10, by(overtfirc)

Two-sample t test with equal variances

Group	Obs	Mean	Std. Err.	Std. Dev.	[95% Conf. Interval]	
0	174	.0172414	.0098966	.1305452	-.0022923	.036775
1	190	.0315789	.0127204	.1753383	.0064868	.0566711
combined	364	.0247253	.0081504	.1555004	.0086973	.0407533
diff		-.0143376	.0163218		-.046435	.0177598
diff = mean(0) - mean(1)					t = -0.8784	
Ho: diff = 0					degrees of freedom = 362	

Ha: diff < 0 Ha: diff != 0 Ha: diff > 0
 Pr(T < t) = 0.1901 Pr(|T| > |t|) = 0.3803 Pr(T > t) = 0.8099

```
probit cwinit10 overtfirc cap_1 cap_2 capshare_1 s_wt_glo s_ld_1 s_ld_2 lndistance democracy1
democracy2 democracy1_2, robust cluster(dyad_id)
```

```
Iteration 0: log pseudolikelihood = -151.06294
Iteration 1: log pseudolikelihood = -136.6242
Iteration 2: log pseudolikelihood = -135.78153
Iteration 3: log pseudolikelihood = -135.77127
Iteration 4: log pseudolikelihood = -135.77126
```

```
Probit regression                               Number of obs =      364
                                                Wald chi2(11) =     35.66
                                                Prob > chi2   =     0.0002
Log pseudolikelihood = -135.77126             Pseudo R2      =     0.1012
```

(Std. Err. adjusted for 285 clusters in dyad_id)

-----+-----		Robust				
cwinit10	Coef.	Std. Err.	z	P> z	[95% Conf. Interval]	
overtfirc	.0040708	.1762285	0.02	0.982	-.3413307	.3494724
cap_1	-1.090594	1.420335	-0.77	0.443	-3.874398	1.693211
cap_2	1.528483	1.85495	0.82	0.410	-2.107153	5.164118
capshare_1	.9668872	.3950713	2.45	0.014	.1925616	1.741213
s_wt_glo	-.2017213	.3233665	-0.62	0.533	-.835508	.4320654
s_ld_1	-1.000346	.5280771	-1.89	0.058	-2.035358	.0346661
s_ld_2	1.519295	.602114	2.52	0.012	.3391729	2.699416
lndistance	-.0505051	.0299168	-1.69	0.091	-.109141	.0081307
democracy1	.2056345	.2558562	0.80	0.422	-.2958345	.7071035
democracy2	-.5200451	.3117061	-1.67	0.095	-1.130978	.0908877
democracy1_2	-.6644509	.4630955	-1.43	0.151	-1.572101	.2431997
_cons	-1.594129	.4983244	-3.20	0.001	-2.570827	-.6174313

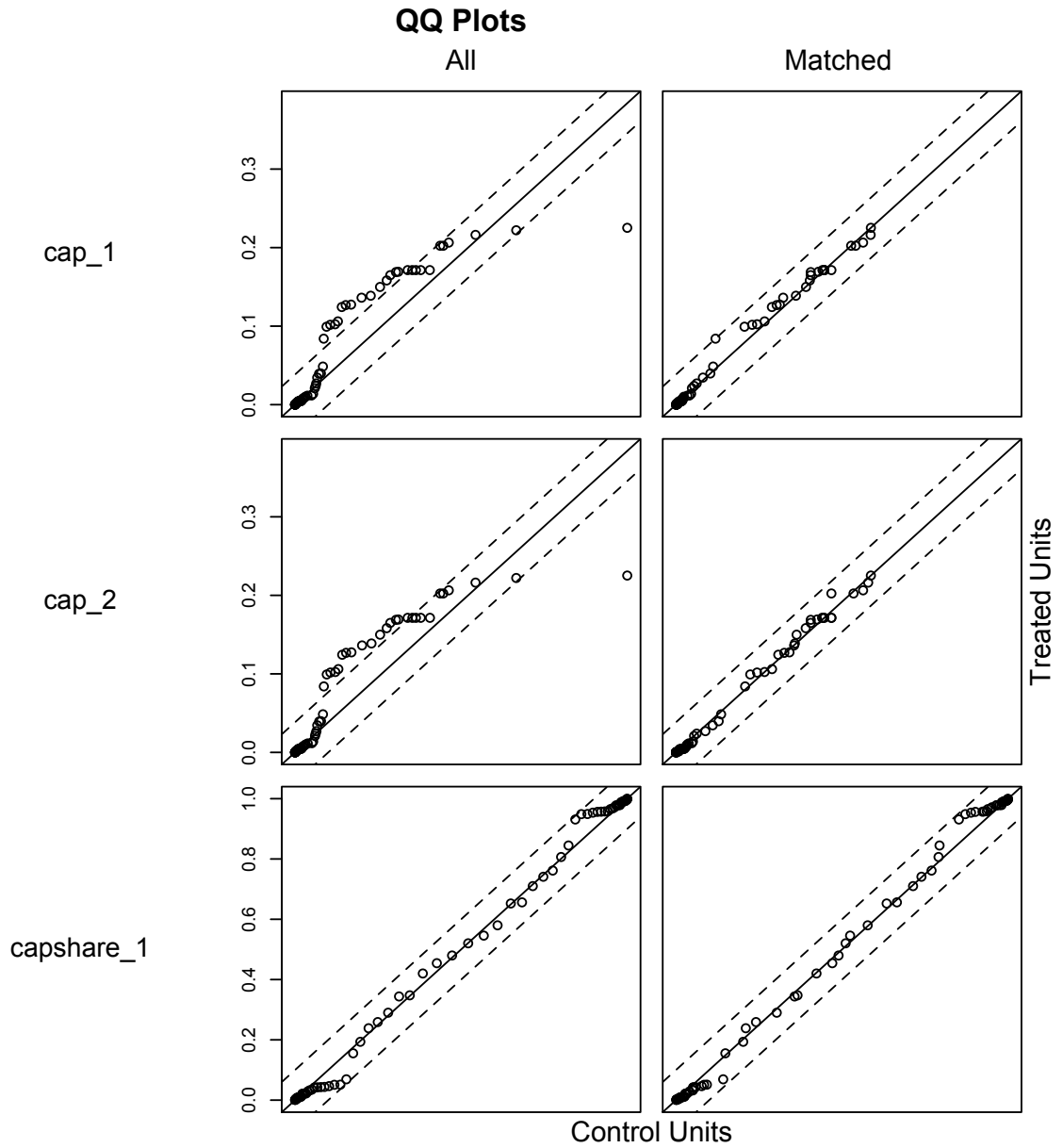

```

spline2      97.6166  99.6763  88.9084  92.2808
spline3      99.0886  99.6763  89.2386  92.3874

```

Sample sizes:

	Control	Treated
All	166582	82
Matched	79	82
Unmatched	166503	0
Discarded	0	0

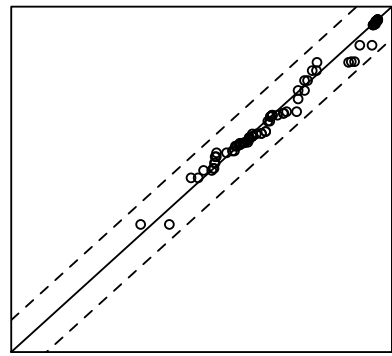
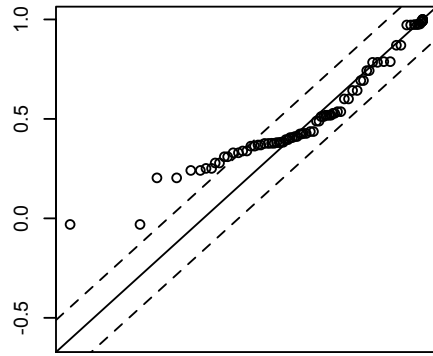


QQ Plots

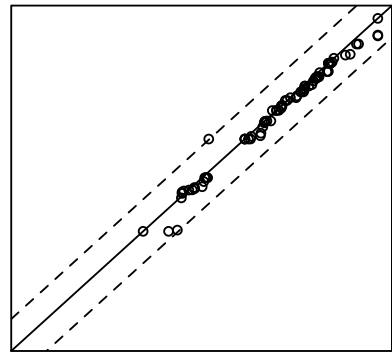
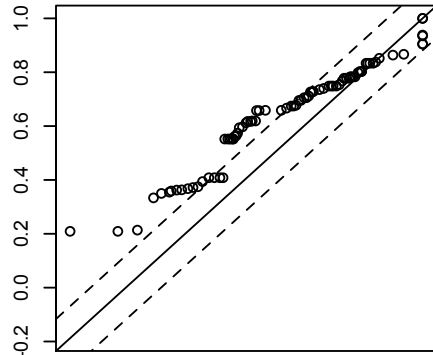
All

Matched

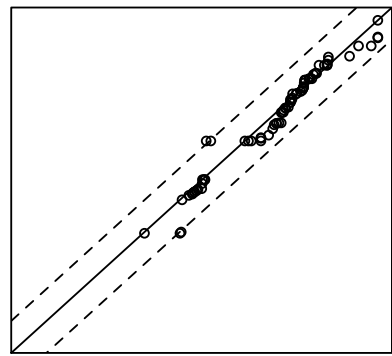
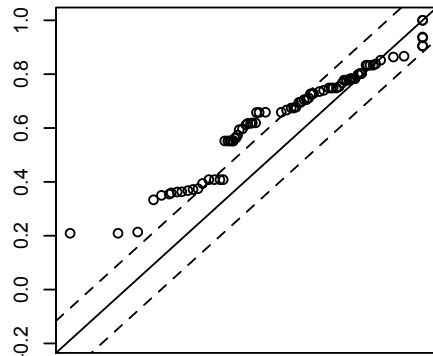
s_wt_glo



s_ld_1



s_ld_2



Treated Units

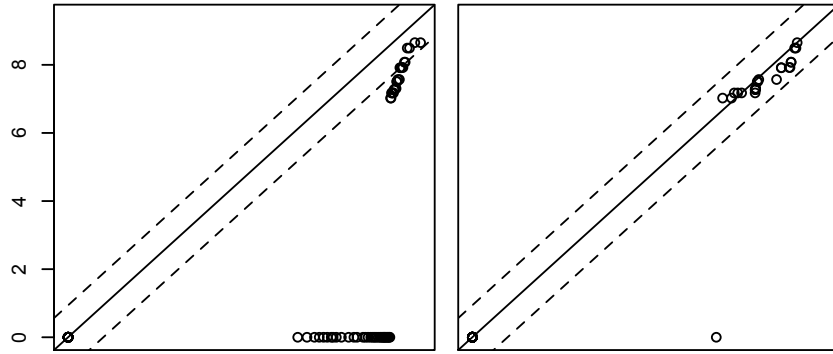
Control Units

QQ Plots

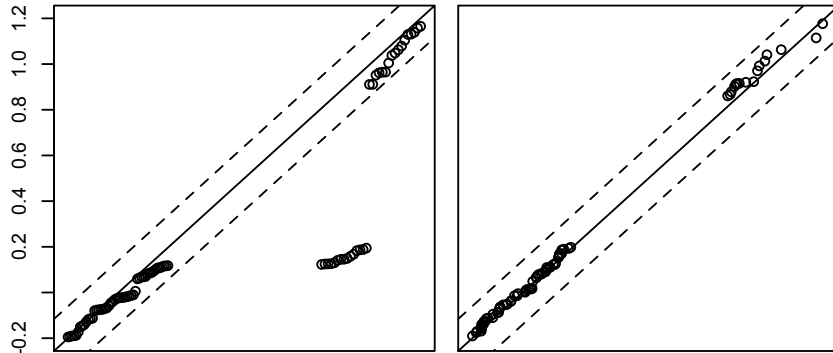
All

Matched

Indistance

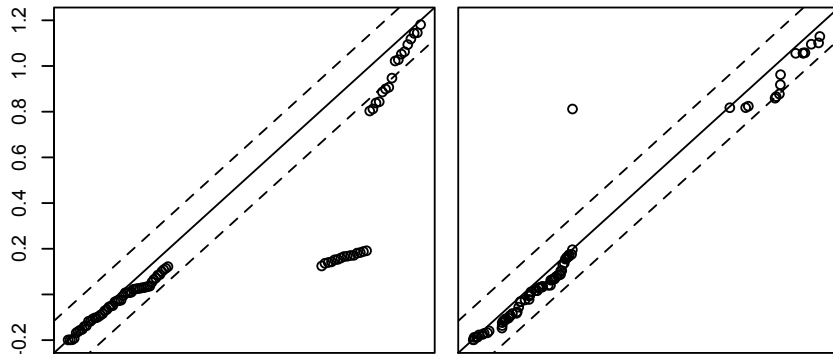


democracy1

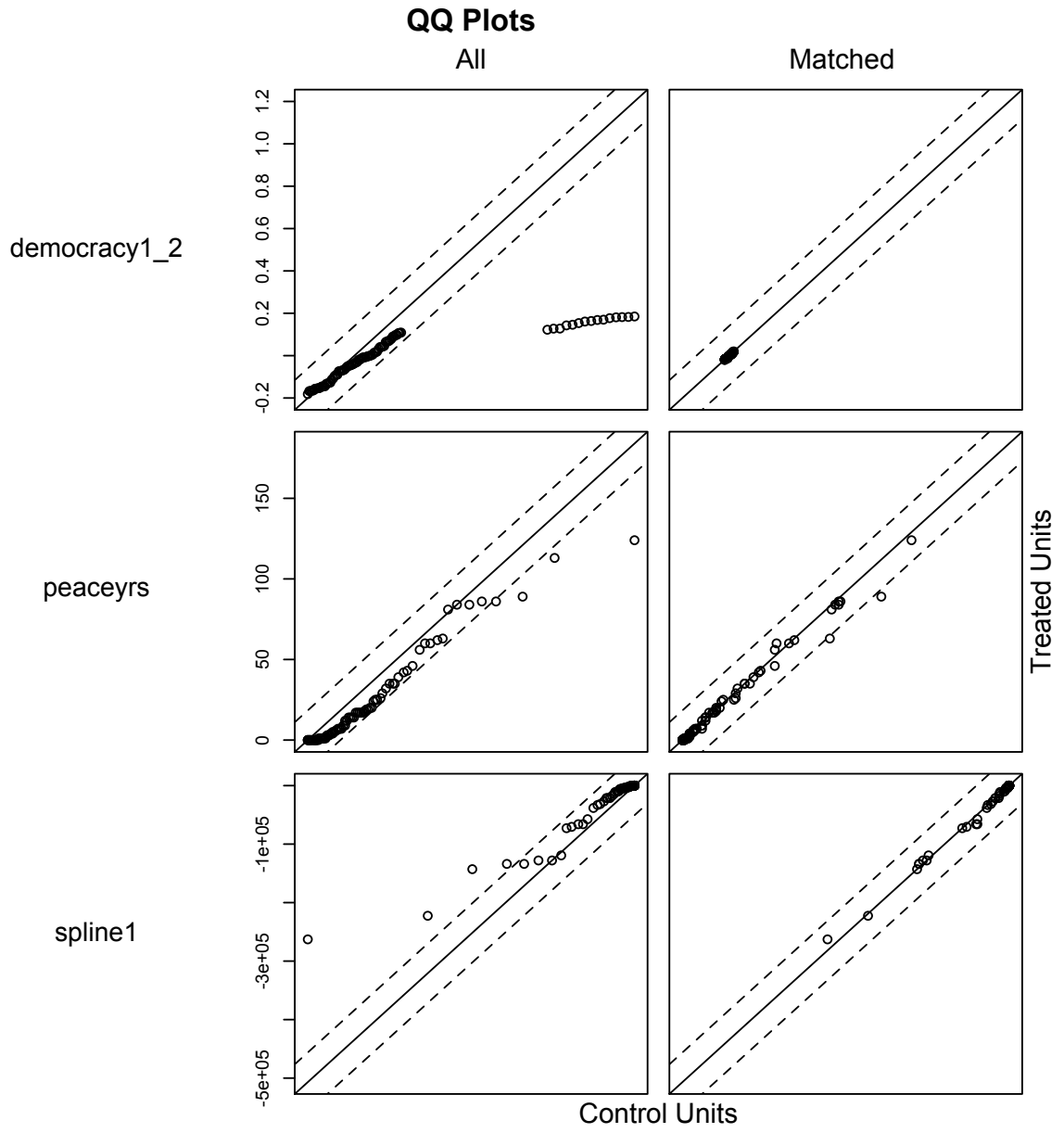


Treated Units

democracy2



Control Units

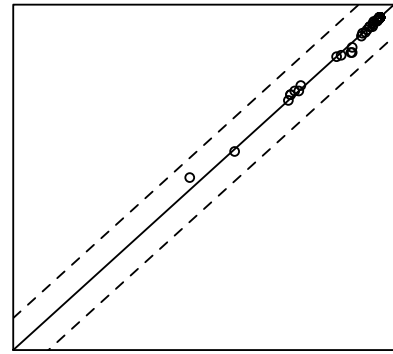
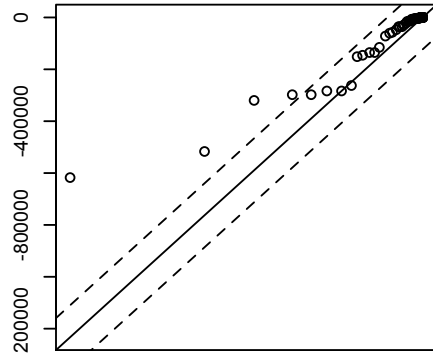


QQ Plots

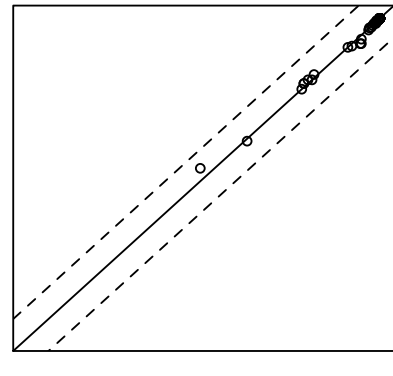
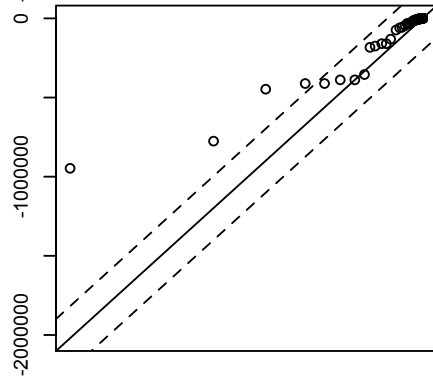
All

Matched

spline2



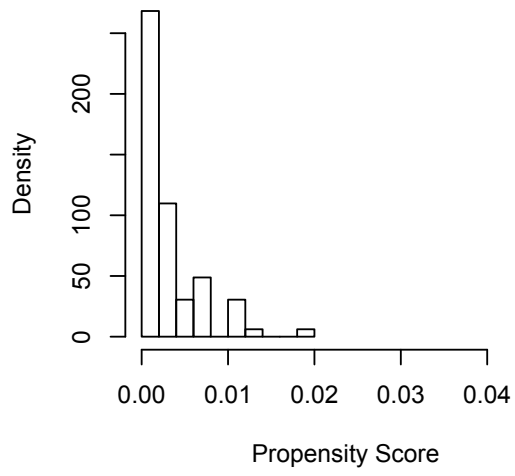
spline3



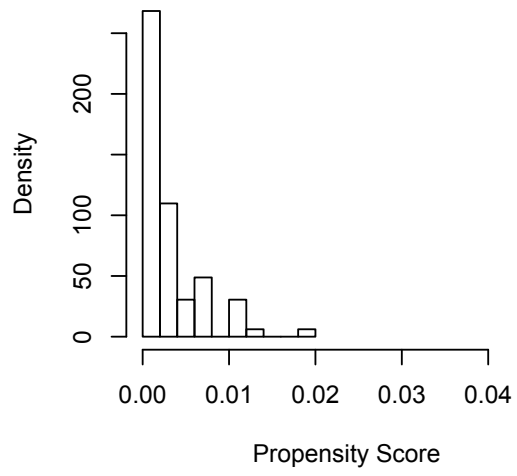
Treated Units

Control Units

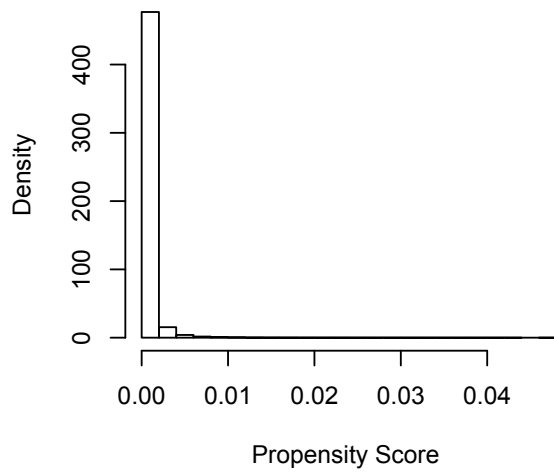
Raw Treated



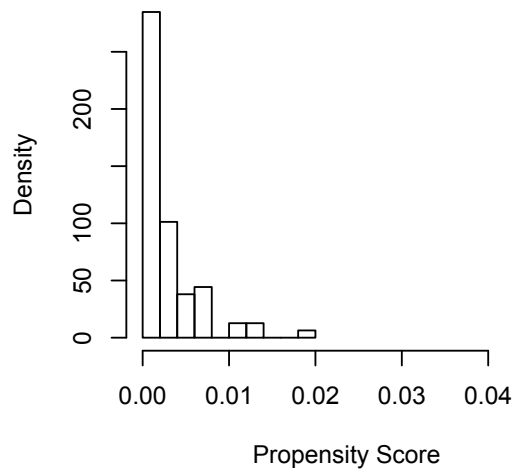
Matched Treated



Raw Control



Matched Control



OVERT LEADERSHIP FIRC: ANALYSIS OF MATCHED DATA

use "/Users/abdownes/Dropbox/O'Rourke Downes FIRC Folder/FIRC and MIDs/Data and Analysis/Matching
 October 2016/ovleadfircmidgenmatchoct16.dta"
 (Written by R.)

ttest cwinit10, by(ovleaderfirc)

Two-sample t test with equal variances

Group	Obs	Mean	Std. Err.	Std. Dev.	[95% Conf. Interval]	
0	79	.2151899	.0465314	.4135799	.122553	.3078267
1	82	.2560976	.0484974	.4391624	.159603	.3525921
combined	161	.2360248	.0335706	.4259626	.1697263	.3023234
diff		-.0409077	.0672854		-.1737962	.0919808
diff = mean(0) - mean(1)					t = -0.6080	
Ho: diff = 0					degrees of freedom = 159	

Ha: diff < 0 Ha: diff != 0 Ha: diff > 0
 Pr(T < t) = 0.2720 Pr(|T| > |t|) = 0.5441 Pr(T > t) = 0.7280

ttest midinit_fatal10, by(ovleaderfirc)

Two-sample t test with equal variances

Group	Obs	Mean	Std. Err.	Std. Dev.	[95% Conf. Interval]	
0	79	.1265823	.0376487	.3346291	.0516294	.2015351
1	82	.1707317	.0418083	.3785899	.0875464	.253917
combined	161	.1490683	.0281566	.3572671	.0934618	.2046748
diff		-.0441494	.0563912		-.1555218	.067223
diff = mean(0) - mean(1)					t = -0.7829	
Ho: diff = 0					degrees of freedom = 159	

Ha: diff < 0 Ha: diff != 0 Ha: diff > 0
 Pr(T < t) = 0.2174 Pr(|T| > |t|) = 0.4348 Pr(T > t) = 0.7826

ttest midinit_war10, by(ovleaderfirc)

Two-sample t test with equal variances

Group	Obs	Mean	Std. Err.	Std. Dev.	[95% Conf. Interval]	
0	79	.0253165	.0177863	.1580882	-.0100934	.0607263
1	82	.0609756	.0265873	.2407581	.0080753	.113876
combined	161	.0434783	.0161222	.2045674	.0116386	.075318
diff		-.0356592	.0322274		-.0993081	.0279898
diff = mean(0) - mean(1)					t = -1.1065	
Ho: diff = 0					degrees of freedom = 159	

Ha: diff < 0 Ha: diff != 0 Ha: diff > 0
 Pr(T < t) = 0.1351 Pr(|T| > |t|) = 0.2702 Pr(T > t) = 0.8649

probit cwinit10 ovleaderfirc cap_1 cap_2 capshare_1 s_wt_glo s_ld_1 s_ld_2 lndistance democracy1
democracy2, robust cluster(dyad_id)

Iteration 0: log pseudolikelihood = -87.979153
Iteration 1: log pseudolikelihood = -80.169401
Iteration 2: log pseudolikelihood = -80.035889
Iteration 3: log pseudolikelihood = -80.035842
Iteration 4: log pseudolikelihood = -80.035842

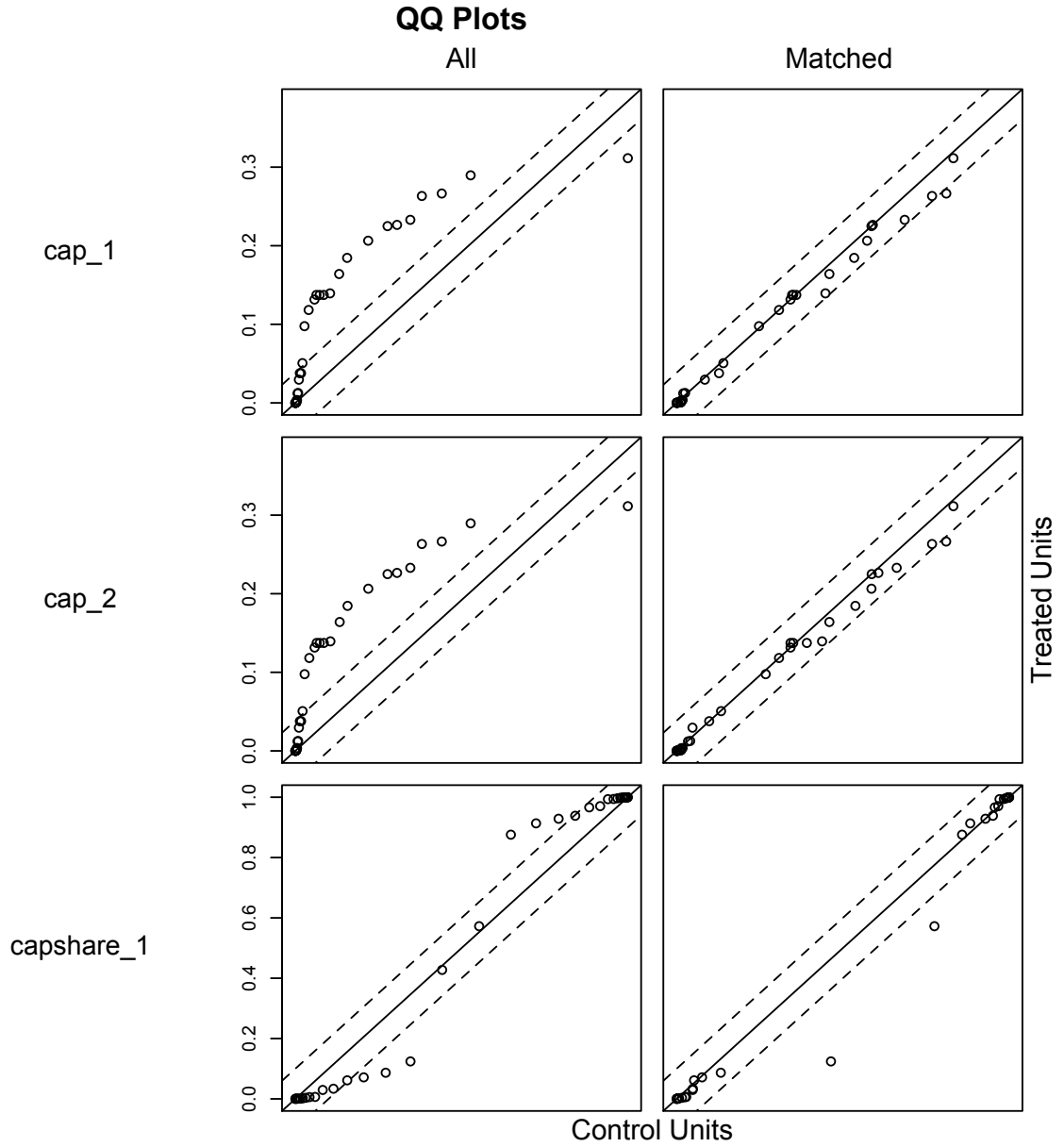
Probit regression Number of obs = 161
Wald chi2(10) = 17.11
Prob > chi2 = 0.0721
Log pseudolikelihood = -80.035842 Pseudo R2 = 0.0903

(Std. Err. adjusted for 148 clusters in dyad_id)

cwinit10	Coef.	Robust Std. Err.	z	P> z	[95% Conf. Interval]	
ovleaderfirc	.1357533	.226897	0.60	0.550	-.3089566	.5804633
cap_1	.6226637	2.309824	0.27	0.787	-3.904507	5.149835
cap_2	-1.382581	3.072428	-0.45	0.653	-7.404429	4.639266
capshare_1	.5626931	.5918491	0.95	0.342	-.5973098	1.722696
s_wt_glo	-.3863719	.5229152	-0.74	0.460	-1.411267	.6385231
s_ld_1	.9203437	1.185403	0.78	0.438	-1.403004	3.243691
s_ld_2	.5792484	1.298279	0.45	0.655	-1.965331	3.123828
lndistance	-.0642404	.0342042	-1.88	0.060	-.1312793	.0027985
democracy1	.1358848	.3362687	0.40	0.686	-.5231898	.7949595
democracy2	-.0264874	.4231258	-0.06	0.950	-.8557989	.802824
_cons	-1.748349	.8498752	-2.06	0.040	-3.414073	-.0826238

Sample sizes:

	Control	Treated
All	166584	36
Matched	34	36
Unmatched	166550	0
Discarded	0	0

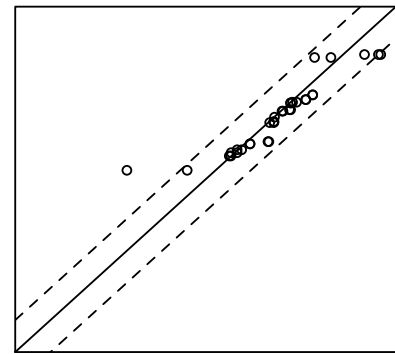
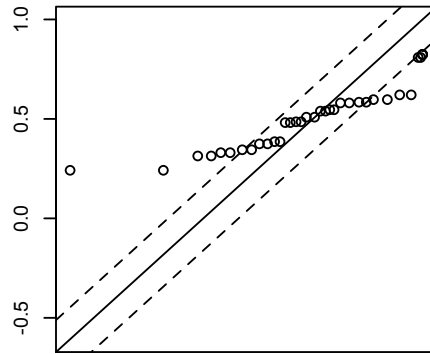


QQ Plots

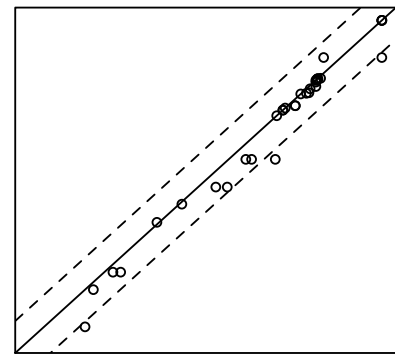
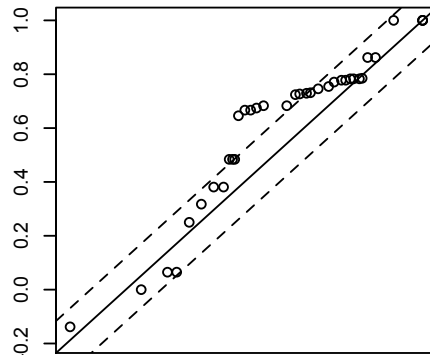
All

Matched

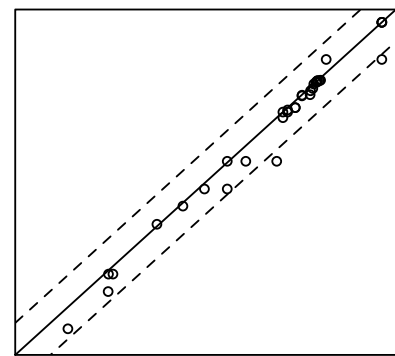
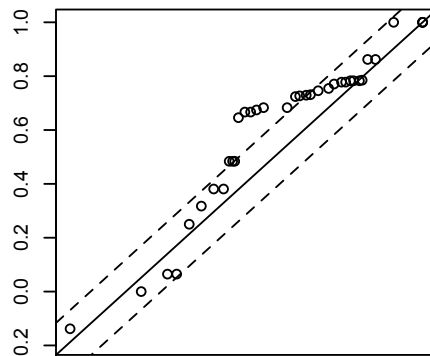
s_wt_glo



s_ld_1



s_ld_2



Treated Units

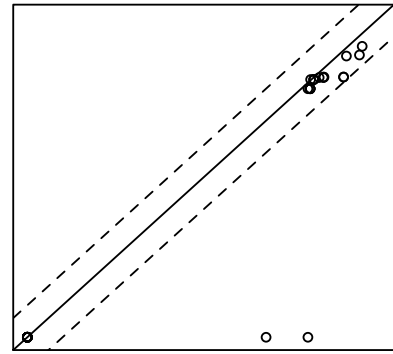
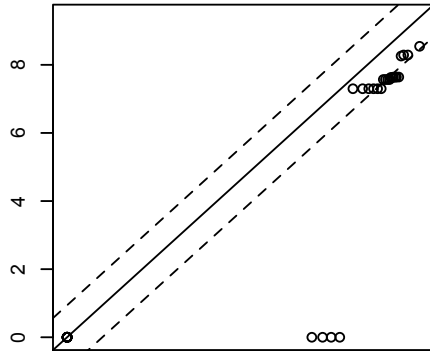
Control Units

QQ Plots

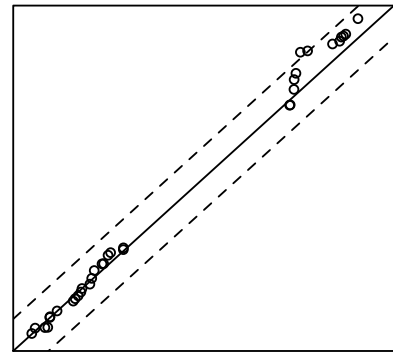
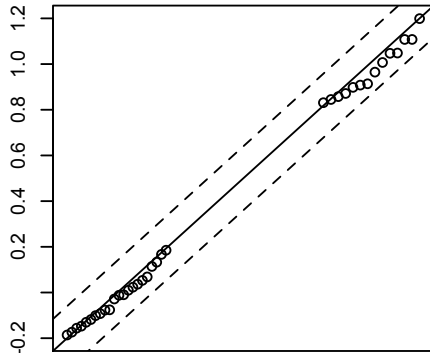
All

Matched

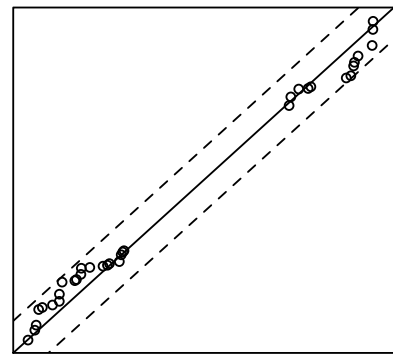
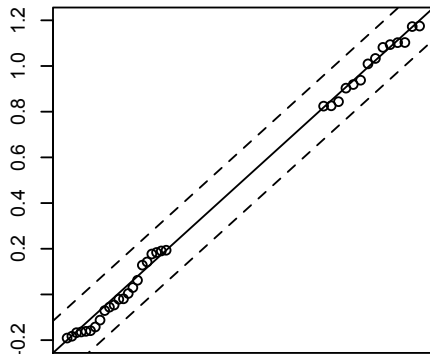
Indistance



democracy1

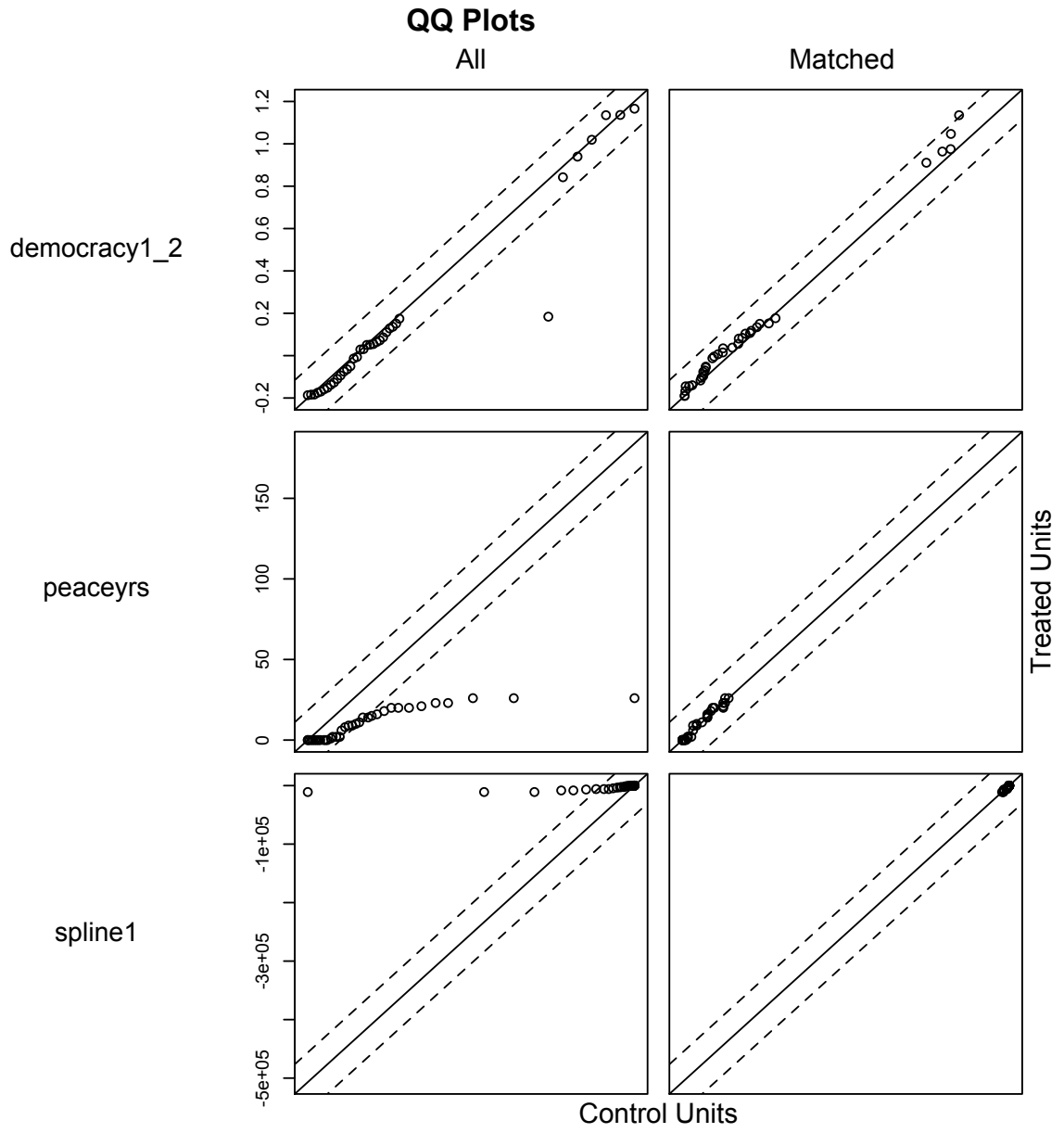


democracy2



Treated Units

Control Units

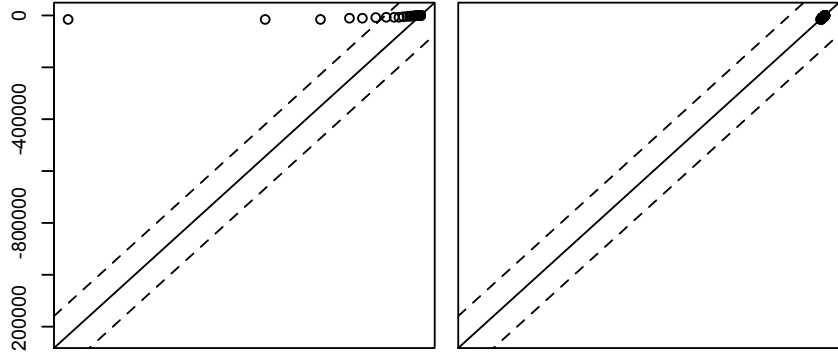


QQ Plots

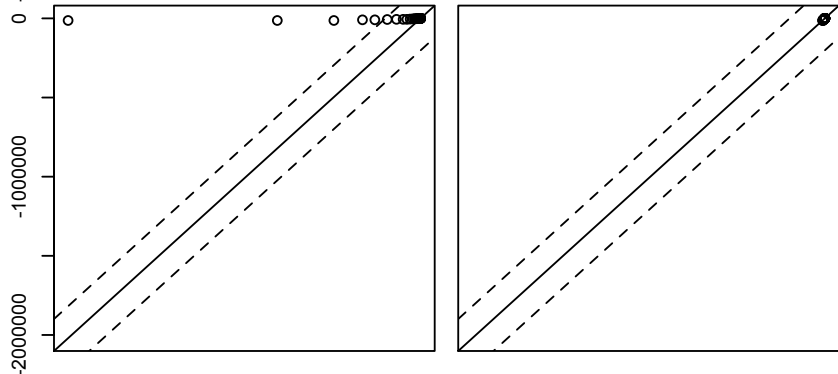
All

Matched

spline2



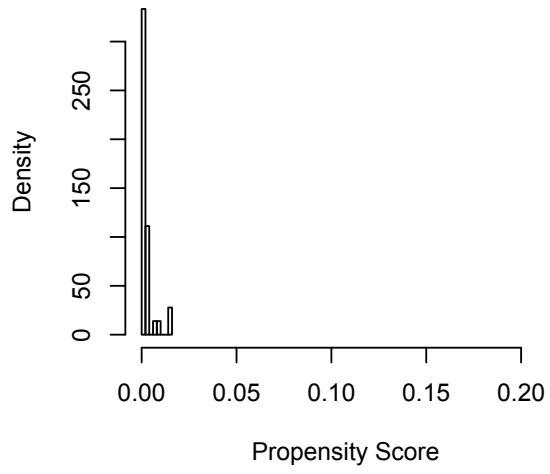
spline3



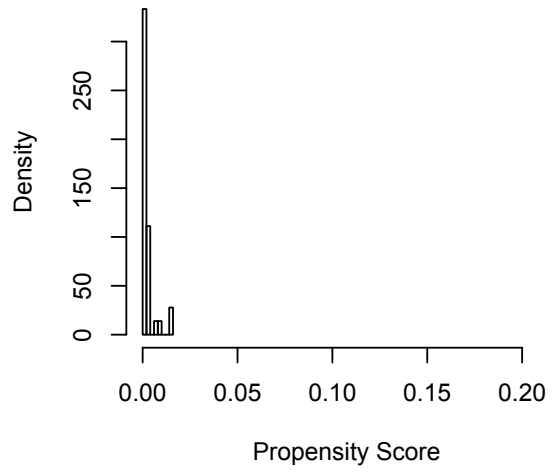
Treated Units

Control Units

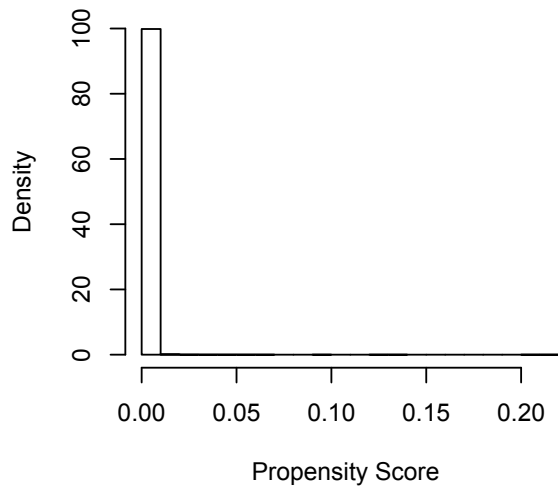
Raw Treated



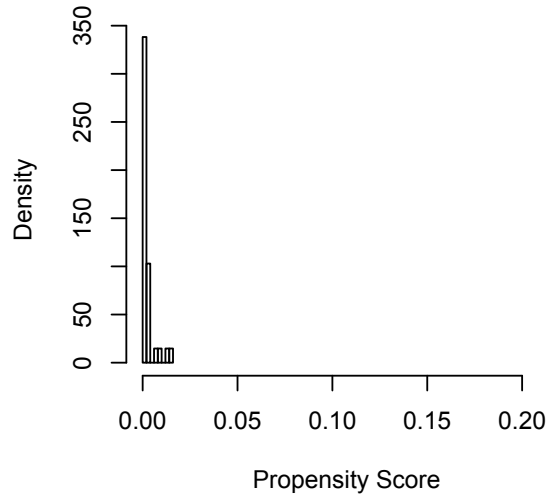
Matched Treated



Raw Control



Matched Control



OVERT INSTITUTIONAL FIRC: ANALYSIS OF MATCHED DATA

use "/Users/downes/Dropbox/O'Rourke Downes FIRC Folder/FIRC and MIDs/Data and Analysis/Matching
October 2016/ovinstfircmidgenmatchchoct16.dta"
(Written by R.)

ttest cwinit10, by(ovinstfirc)

Two-sample t test with equal variances

Group	Obs	Mean	Std. Err.	Std. Dev.	[95% Conf. Interval]	
0	34	.1176471	.056086	.327035	.0035392	.231755
1	36	.1666667	.0629941	.3779645	.0387819	.2945514
combined	70	.1428571	.0421263	.3524537	.0588175	.2268968
diff		-.0490196	.0846961		-.218028	.1199888
diff = mean(0) - mean(1)					t = -0.5788	
Ho: diff = 0					degrees of freedom = 68	
Ha: diff < 0			Ha: diff != 0		Ha: diff > 0	
Pr(T < t) = 0.2823			Pr(T > t) = 0.5647		Pr(T > t) = 0.7177	

ttest midinit_fatal10, by(ovinstfirc)

Two-sample t test with equal variances

Group	Obs	Mean	Std. Err.	Std. Dev.	[95% Conf. Interval]	
0	34	.0882353	.0493748	.2879022	-.0122185	.1886891
1	36	.1111111	.0531213	.3187276	.0032692	.218953
combined	70	.1	.0361158	.3021661	.027951	.172049
diff		-.0228758	.0727375		-.1680213	.1222697
diff = mean(0) - mean(1)					t = -0.3145	
Ho: diff = 0					degrees of freedom = 68	
Ha: diff < 0			Ha: diff != 0		Ha: diff > 0	
Pr(T < t) = 0.3771			Pr(T > t) = 0.7541		Pr(T > t) = 0.6229	

ttest midinit_war10, by(ovinstfirc)

Two-sample t test with equal variances

Group	Obs	Mean	Std. Err.	Std. Dev.	[95% Conf. Interval]	
0	34	0	0	0	0	0
1	36	.0277778	.0277778	.1666667	-.0286141	.0841697
combined	70	.0142857	.0142857	.1195229	-.0142135	.0427849
diff		-.0277778	.0285948		-.0848378	.0292822
diff = mean(0) - mean(1)					t = -0.9714	
Ho: diff = 0					degrees of freedom = 68	
Ha: diff < 0			Ha: diff != 0		Ha: diff > 0	
Pr(T < t) = 0.1674			Pr(T > t) = 0.3348		Pr(T > t) = 0.8326	

```
probit cwinit10 ovinstfirc cap_1 cap_2 capshare_1 s_wt_glo s_ld_1 s_ld_2 lndistance, robust
cluster(dyad_id)
```

```
Iteration 0: log pseudolikelihood = -28.708142
Iteration 1: log pseudolikelihood = -22.918084
Iteration 2: log pseudolikelihood = -22.766816
Iteration 3: log pseudolikelihood = -22.76596
Iteration 4: log pseudolikelihood = -22.76596
```

```
Probit regression                               Number of obs =          70
                                                Wald chi2(8) =         20.73
                                                Prob > chi2 =          0.0079
Log pseudolikelihood = -22.76596                Pseudo R2 =           0.2070
```

(Std. Err. adjusted for 58 clusters in dyad_id)

cwinit10	Coef.	Robust Std. Err.	z	P> z	[95% Conf. Interval]	
ovinstfirc	.1488994	.3894689	0.38	0.702	-.6144457	.9122444
cap_1	-1.969408	3.065704	-0.64	0.521	-7.978078	4.039261
cap_2	8.831697	6.157901	1.43	0.152	-3.237567	20.90096
capshare_1	3.145978	1.206524	2.61	0.009	.7812349	5.510721
s_wt_glo	-.0849131	1.137983	-0.07	0.941	-2.315318	2.145492
s_ld_1	.0407383	.7577297	0.05	0.957	-1.444385	1.525861
s_ld_2	.8923925	1.182509	0.75	0.450	-1.425283	3.210068
lndistance	-.1324268	.0884556	-1.50	0.134	-.3057966	.0409429
_cons	-3.568755	1.85965	-1.92	0.055	-7.213601	.0760909

OVERT RESTORATION FIRCI

```
library(foreign)
library(MatchIt)
library(Matching)
library(rgenoud)

ovrestfirc=read.dta("ovrestfircmidformatchoct16.dta")

ovrestfirc.out1 <- matchit(ovrestfirc ~ cap_1 + cap_2 + capshare_1 + s_wt_glo + s_ld_1 + s_ld_2 +
  lndistance + democracy1 + democracy2 + democracy1_2 + peaceyrs + splinel + spline2 + spline3,
  data=ovrestfirc, method="genetic", pop.size=200)
```

```
summary(ovrestfirc.out1)
```

```
Call:
matchit(formula = ovrestfirc ~ cap_1 + cap_2 + capshare_1 + s_wt_glo +
  s_ld_1 + s_ld_2 + lndistance + democracy1 + democracy2 +
  democracy1_2 + peaceyrs + splinel + spline2 + spline3, data = ovrestfirc,
  method = "genetic", pop.size = 200)
```

Summary of balance for all data:
Means Treated Means Control SD Control Mean Diff eQQ Med eQQ Mean eQQ Max
distance 0.0021 0.0004 0.0012 0.0017 0.0016 0.0027 0.0701
cap_1 0.0744 0.0409 0.0629 0.0334 0.0058 0.0309 0.2146
cap_2 0.0744 0.0410 0.0629 0.0333 0.0058 0.0308 0.2146
capshare_1 0.5000 0.4993 0.4166 0.0007 0.0059 0.0352 0.1378
s_wt_glo 0.5944 0.5143 0.3429 0.0800 0.0783 0.0878 0.3421
s_ld_1 0.6542 0.5475 0.2628 0.1068 0.0976 0.1157 0.3110
s_ld_2 0.6542 0.5476 0.2627 0.1066 0.0968 0.1156 0.3110
lndistance 3.2636 5.6123 3.8728 -2.3487 0.6237 2.3370 8.2993
democracy1 0.4722 0.3894 0.4876 0.0828 0.0000 0.0833 1.0000
democracy2 0.4722 0.3899 0.4877 0.0823 0.0000 0.0833 1.0000
democracy1_2 0.3333 0.1851 0.3884 0.1482 0.0000 0.1389 1.0000
peaceyrs 34.1528 31.5620 31.4868 2.5908 3.0000 5.4028 55.0000
splinel -39859.3366 -34442.6603 65766.5324 -5416.6762 3525.6641 11290.9013 225086.1875
spline2 -85277.4874 -73098.4810 154541.2714 -12179.0064 7370.1687 26374.0816 568167.3750
spline3 -115743.5335 -98438.1279 236981.1301 -17305.4056 6686.7317 40478.1495 991385.0000

Summary of balance for matched data:
Means Treated Means Control SD Control Mean Diff eQQ Med eQQ Mean eQQ Max
distance 0.0021 0.0021 0.0018 0.0001 0.0002 0.0003 0.0011
cap_1 0.0744 0.0750 0.1119 -0.0006 0.0010 0.0104 0.1337
cap_2 0.0744 0.0734 0.1112 0.0010 0.0010 0.0067 0.1247
capshare_1 0.5000 0.5034 0.4306 -0.0034 0.0122 0.0260 0.2361
s_wt_glo 0.5944 0.5925 0.3428 0.0018 0.0204 0.0512 0.1847
s_ld_1 0.6542 0.6496 0.2952 0.0046 0.0044 0.0196 0.1317
s_ld_2 0.6542 0.6504 0.2934 0.0038 0.0043 0.0155 0.1041
lndistance 3.2636 3.2927 3.9520 -0.0292 0.0000 0.1664 5.9713
democracy1 0.4722 0.4722 0.5032 0.0000 0.0000 0.0625 1.0000
democracy2 0.4722 0.4722 0.5032 0.0000 0.0000 0.0625 1.0000
democracy1_2 0.3333 0.3333 0.4751 0.0000 0.0000 0.0781 1.0000
peaceyrs 34.1528 33.9028 32.3116 0.2500 2.0000 3.0625 26.0000
splinel -39859.3366 -38137.3858 64895.3902 -1721.9508 1040.3046 9232.5076 97309.3125
spline2 -85277.4874 -80762.1270 151657.5324 -4515.3603 1124.3151 21568.4464 242652.2188
spline3 -115743.5335 -108011.1252 229013.1938 -7732.4083 964.6901 32565.4740 412499.6250

Percent Balance Improvement:
Mean Diff. eQQ Med eQQ Mean eQQ Max
distance 96.7877 85.6186 88.1519 98.4770
cap_1 98.1277 83.3119 66.2718 37.7284
cap_2 96.9825 82.8611 78.3749 41.9100
capshare_1 -419.6448 -105.5476 26.0613 -71.2614
s_wt_glo 97.6910 73.9829 41.6638 46.0207
s_ld_1 95.6615 95.5046 83.0958 57.6541
s_ld_2 96.4342 95.5839 86.5865 66.5264
lndistance 98.7577 100.0000 92.8798 28.0509
democracy1 100.0000 0.0000 25.0000 0.0000
democracy2 100.0000 0.0000 25.0000 0.0000
democracy1_2 100.0000 0.0000 43.7500 0.0000
peaceyrs 90.3505 33.3333 43.3162 52.7273
splinel 68.2102 70.4934 18.2306 56.7680

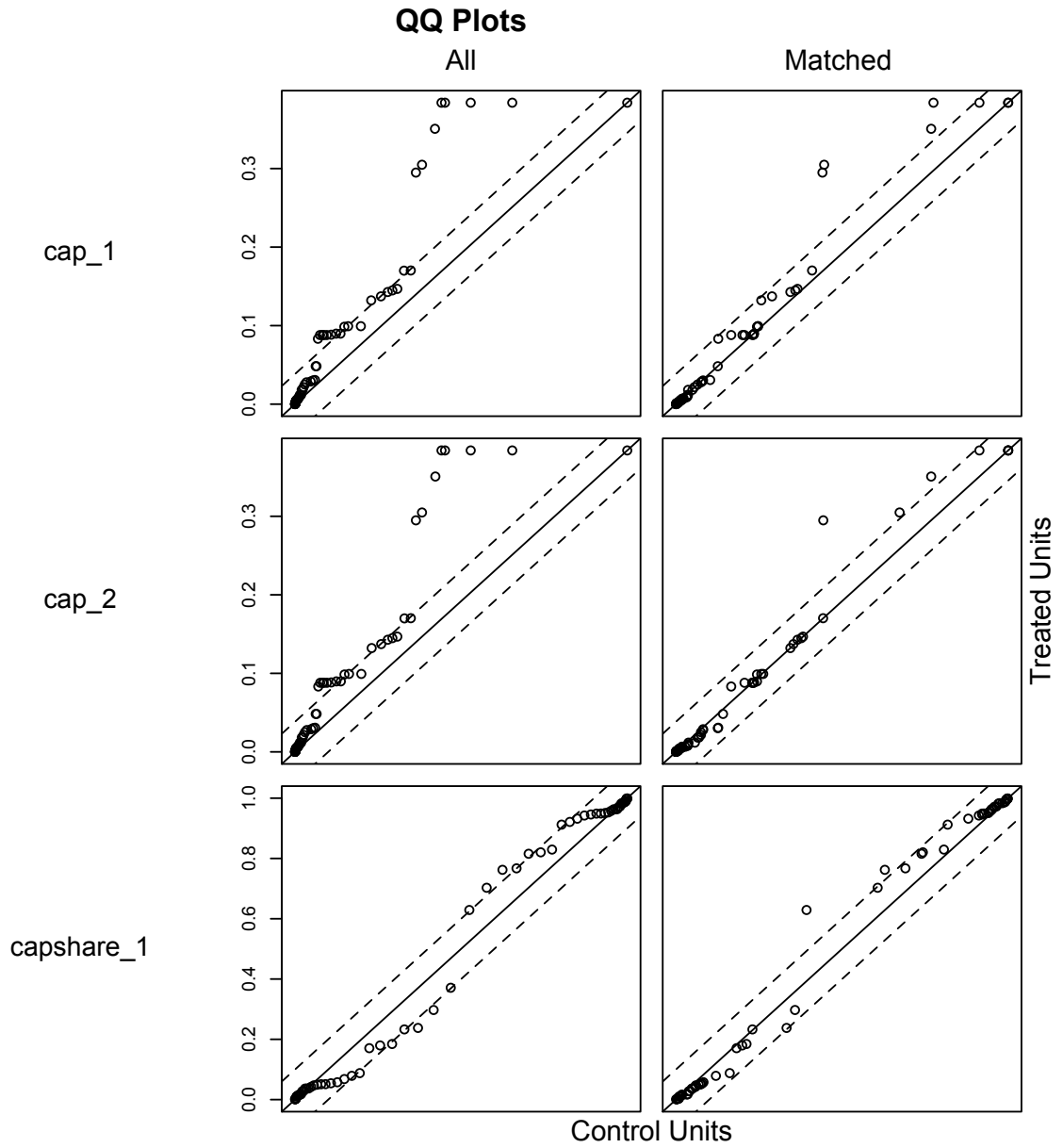
```

spline2      62.9251  84.7451  18.2211  57.2921
spline3      55.3180  85.5731  19.5480  58.3916

```

Sample sizes:

	Control	Treated
All	166579	72
Matched	64	72
Unmatched	166515	0
Discarded	0	0

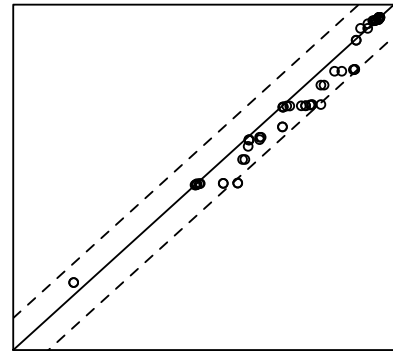
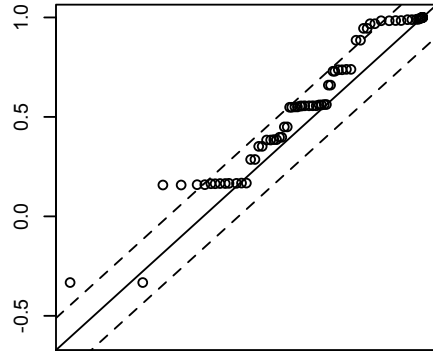


QQ Plots

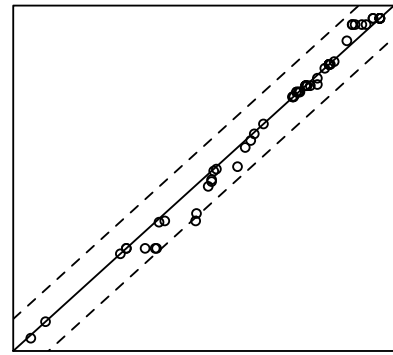
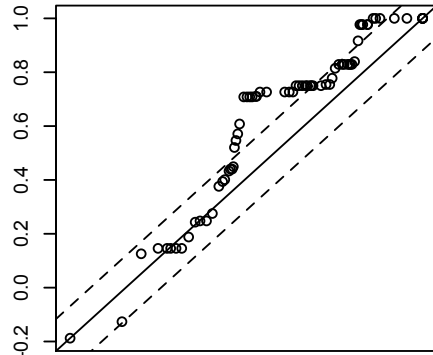
All

Matched

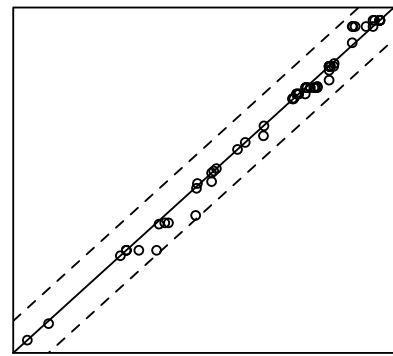
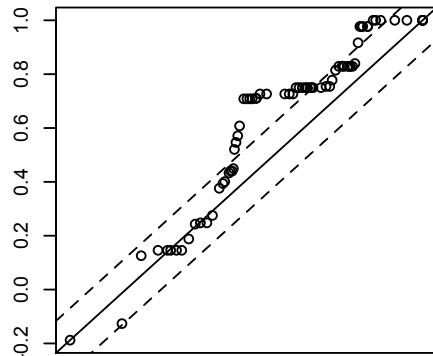
s_wt_glo



s_ld_1



s_ld_2



Control Units

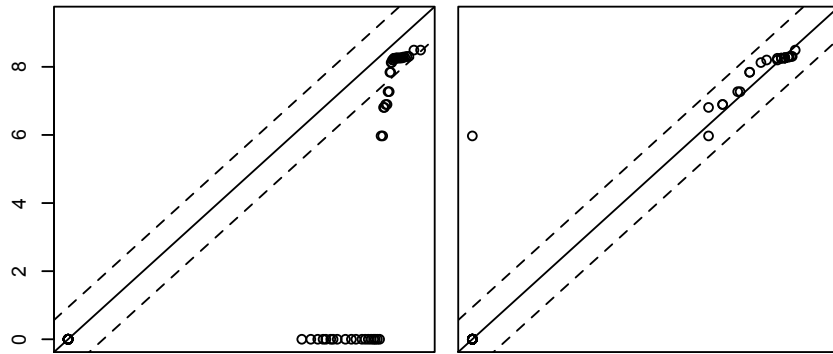
Treated Units

QQ Plots

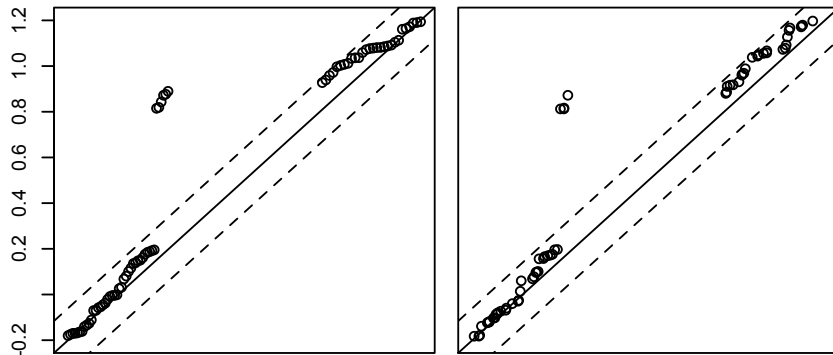
All

Matched

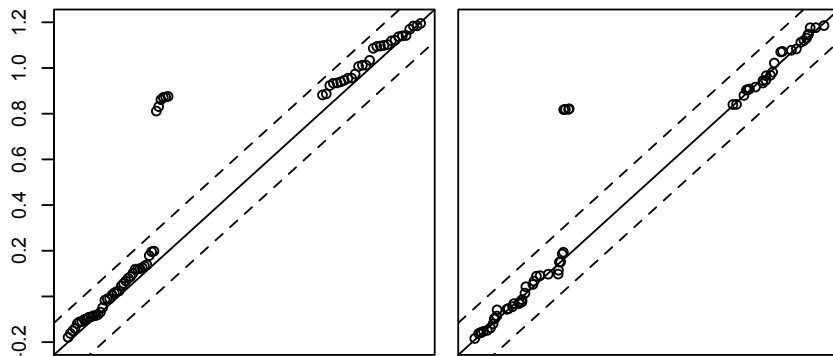
Indistance



democracy1

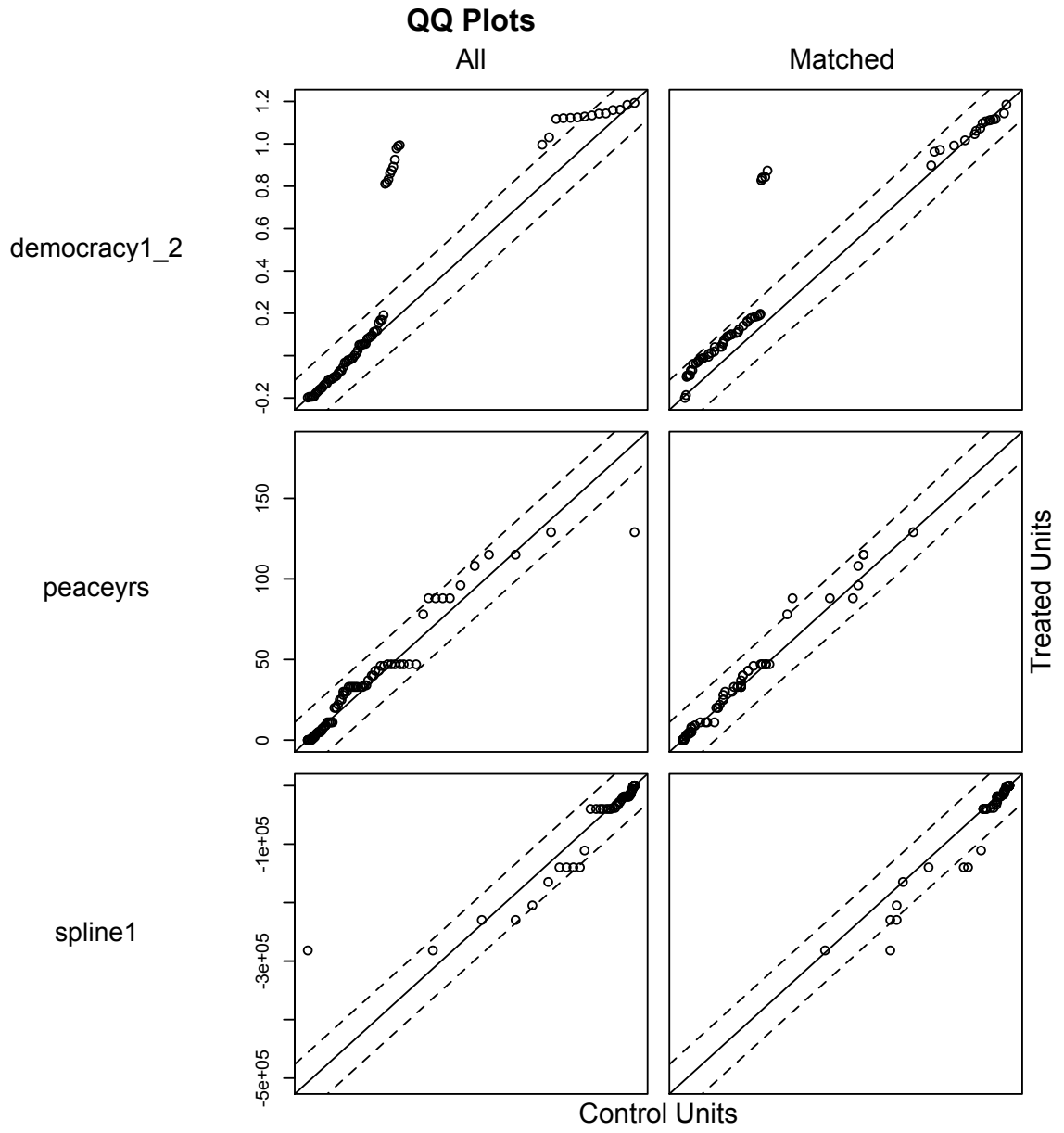


democracy2



Treated Units

Control Units

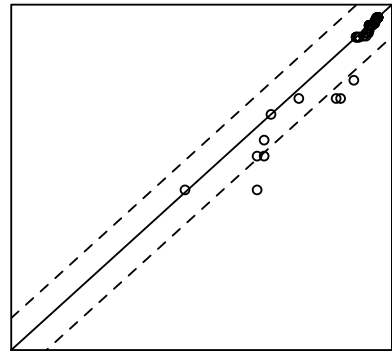
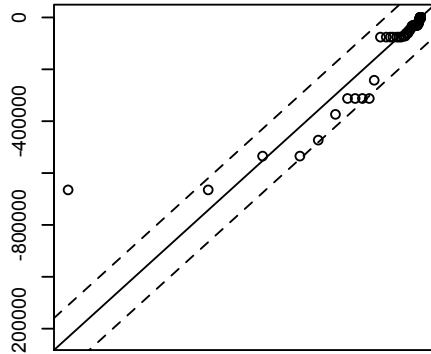


QQ Plots

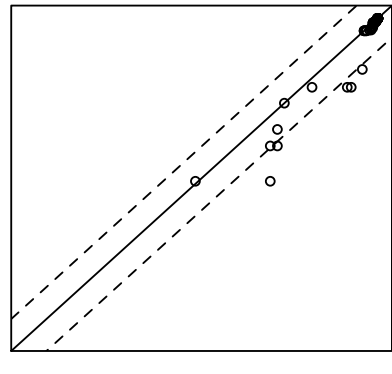
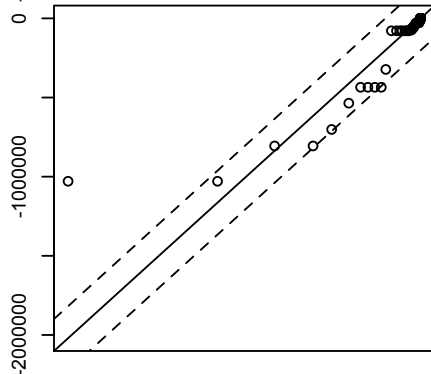
All

Matched

spline2



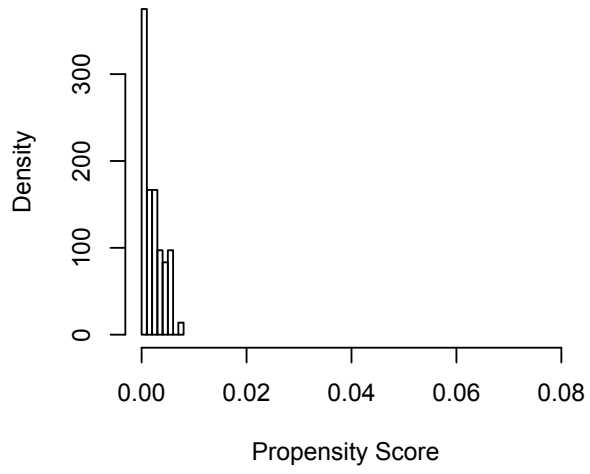
spline3



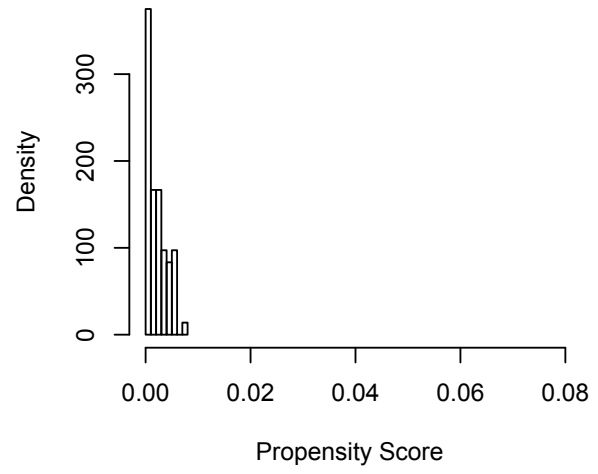
Treated Units

Control Units

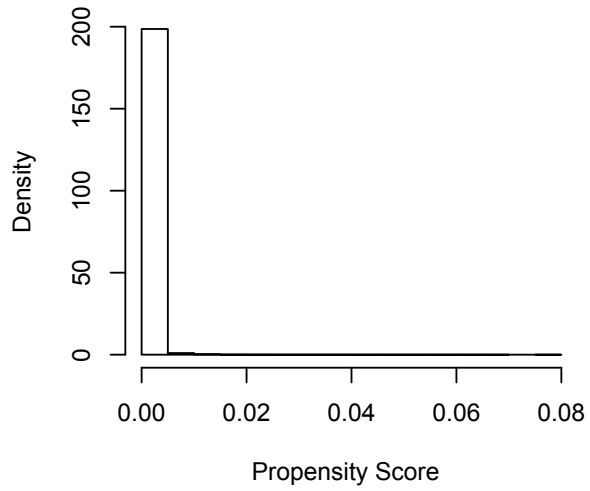
Raw Treated



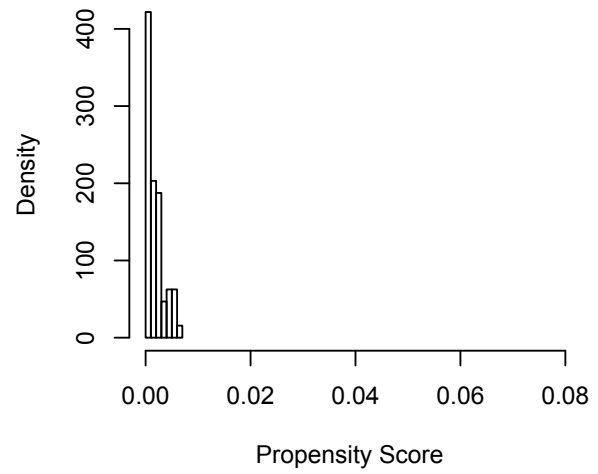
Matched Treated



Raw Control



Matched Control



OVERT RESTORATION FIRC: ANALYSIS OF MATCHED DATA

use "/Users/abdownes/Dropbox/O'Rourke Downes FIRC Folder/FIRC and MIDs/Data and Analysis/Matching
 October 2016/ovrestfircmidgenmatchoct16.dta"
 (Written by R.)

ttest cwinit10, by(ovrestfirc)

Two-sample t test with equal variances

Group	Obs	Mean	Std. Err.	Std. Dev.	[95% Conf. Interval]	
0	64	.125	.0416667	.3333333	.0417358	.2082642
1	72	.0138889	.0138889	.1178511	-.0138048	.0415825
combined	136	.0661765	.0213952	.2495093	.0238633	.1084897
diff		.1111111	.04194		.0281611	.1940611

diff = mean(0) - mean(1) t = 2.6493
 Ho: diff = 0 degrees of freedom = 134

Ha: diff < 0 Ha: diff != 0 Ha: diff > 0
 Pr(T < t) = 0.9955 Pr(|T| > |t|) = 0.0090 Pr(T > t) = 0.0045

ttest midinit_fatal10, by(ovrestfirc)

Two-sample t test with equal variances

Group	Obs	Mean	Std. Err.	Std. Dev.	[95% Conf. Interval]	
0	64	.0625	.0304969	.243975	.0015569	.1234431
1	72	0	0	0	0	0
combined	136	.0294118	.0145416	.1695823	.000653	.0581705
diff		.0625	.0287393		.0056586	.1193414

diff = mean(0) - mean(1) t = 2.1747
 Ho: diff = 0 degrees of freedom = 134

Ha: diff < 0 Ha: diff != 0 Ha: diff > 0
 Pr(T < t) = 0.9843 Pr(|T| > |t|) = 0.0314 Pr(T > t) = 0.0157

ttest midinit_war10, by(ovrestfirc)

Two-sample t test with equal variances

Group	Obs	Mean	Std. Err.	Std. Dev.	[95% Conf. Interval]	
0	64	.015625	.015625	.125	-.0155991	.0468491
1	72	0	0	0	0	0
combined	136	.0073529	.0073529	.0857493	-.0071889	.0218948
diff		.015625	.0147245		-.0134975	.0447475

diff = mean(0) - mean(1) t = 1.0612
 Ho: diff = 0 degrees of freedom = 134

Ha: diff < 0 Ha: diff != 0 Ha: diff > 0
 Pr(T < t) = 0.8547 Pr(|T| > |t|) = 0.2905 Pr(T > t) = 0.1453

```
probit cwinit10 ovrestfirc cap_1 cap_2 capshare_1 s_wt_glo s_ld_1 s_ld_2 lndistance democracy1
democracy2, robust cluster(dyad_id)
```

```
Iteration 0: log pseudolikelihood = -33.134283
Iteration 1: log pseudolikelihood = -24.562222
Iteration 2: log pseudolikelihood = -22.432537
Iteration 3: log pseudolikelihood = -22.174751
Iteration 4: log pseudolikelihood = -22.166564
Iteration 5: log pseudolikelihood = -22.16655
Iteration 6: log pseudolikelihood = -22.16655
```

```
Probit regression                               Number of obs   =       136
                                                Wald chi2(10)  =       24.58
                                                Prob > chi2    =       0.0062
Log pseudolikelihood = -22.16655                Pseudo R2      =       0.3310
```

(Std. Err. adjusted for 117 clusters in dyad_id)

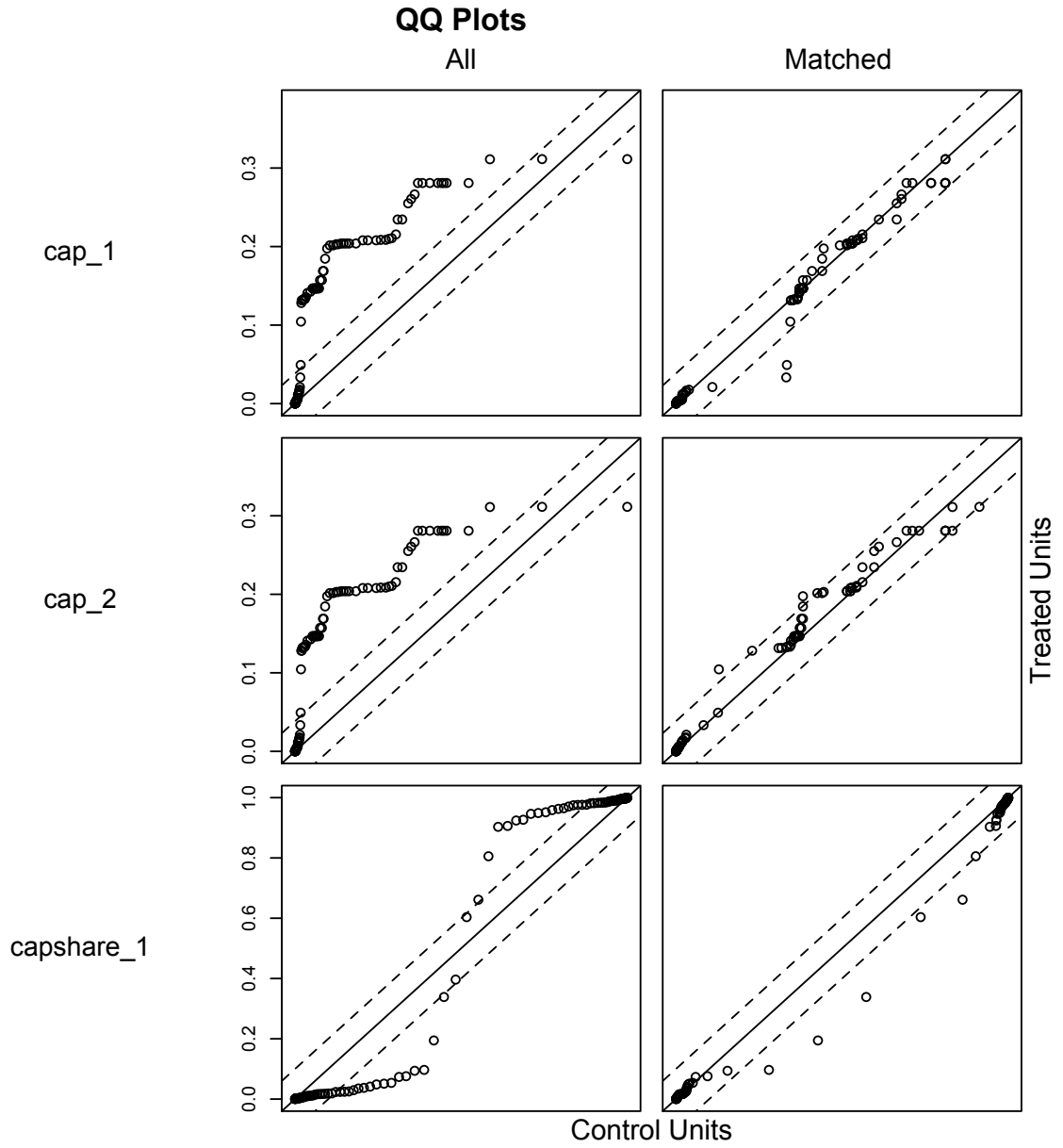
	Coef.	Robust Std. Err.	z	P> z	[95% Conf. Interval]	
cwinit10						
ovrestfirc	-1.324709	.4272427	-3.10	0.002	-2.162089	-.4873285
cap_1	-4.054851	2.759729	-1.47	0.142	-9.46382	1.354118
cap_2	.0182207	4.506486	0.00	0.997	-8.81433	8.850771
capshare_1	2.053016	.807742	2.54	0.011	.4698709	3.636161
s_wt_glo	1.008253	1.006212	1.00	0.316	-.963886	2.980392
s_ld_1	-3.777318	1.349242	-2.80	0.005	-6.421783	-1.132853
s_ld_2	4.344746	1.631107	2.66	0.008	1.147834	7.541657
lndistance	-.0631087	.0698514	-0.90	0.366	-.200015	.0737975
democracy1	.2853431	.531206	0.54	0.591	-.7558015	1.326488
democracy2	-.4433768	.4048872	-1.10	0.273	-1.236941	.3501875
_cons	-3.233992	1.235441	-2.62	0.009	-5.655411	-.8125727

Note: 5 failures and 0 successes completely determined.


```

spline2      -64.8846  90.6616  85.3263  89.7536
spline3      58.4386   90.6616  86.8059  90.0210
Sample sizes:
      Control Treated
All    173732    114
Matched  110     114
Unmatched 173622    0
Discarded   0      0

```

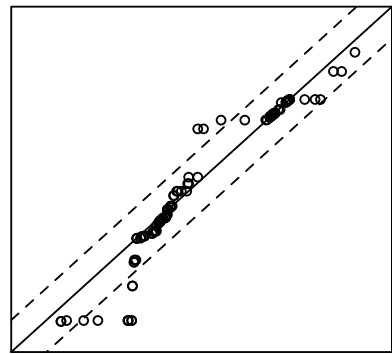
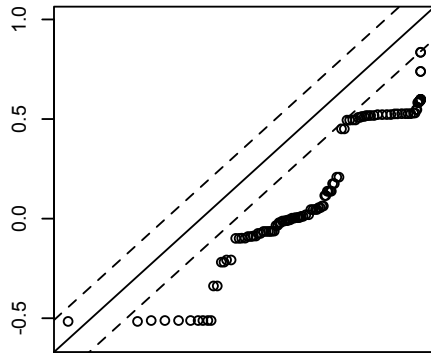


QQ Plots

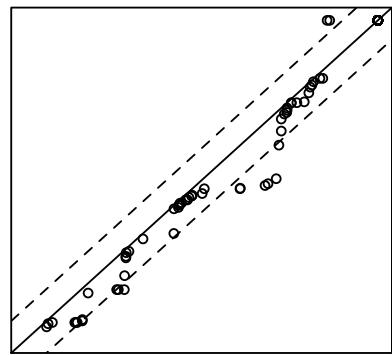
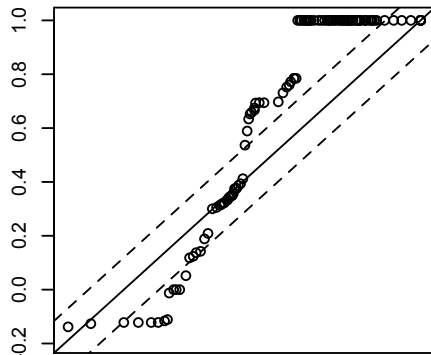
All

Matched

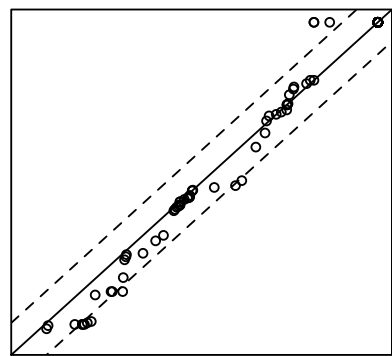
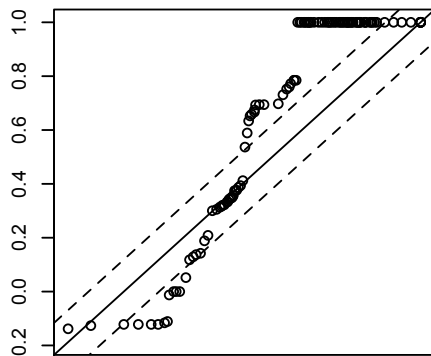
s_wt_glo



s_ld_1



s_ld_2



Treated Units

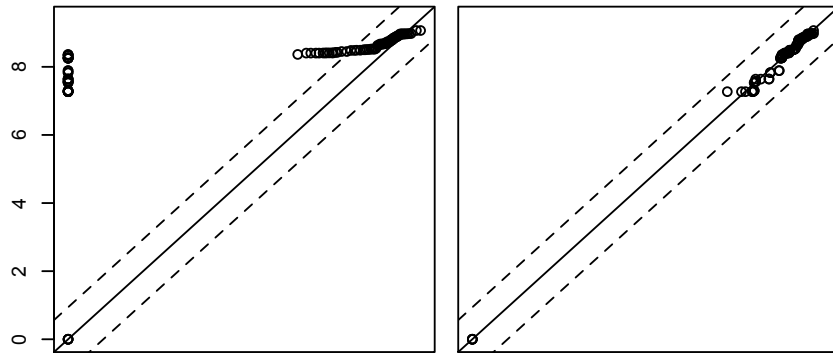
Control Units

QQ Plots

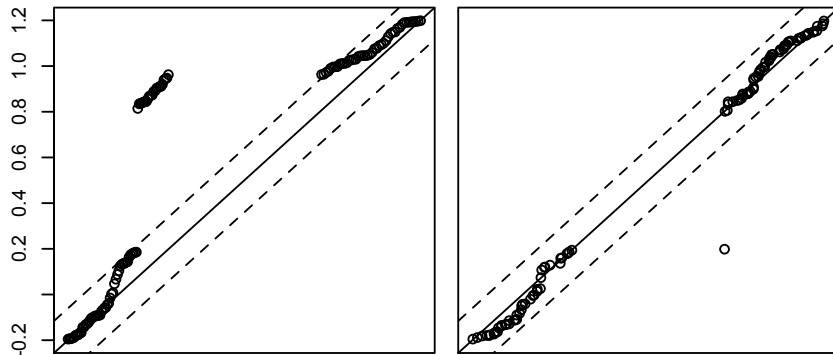
All

Matched

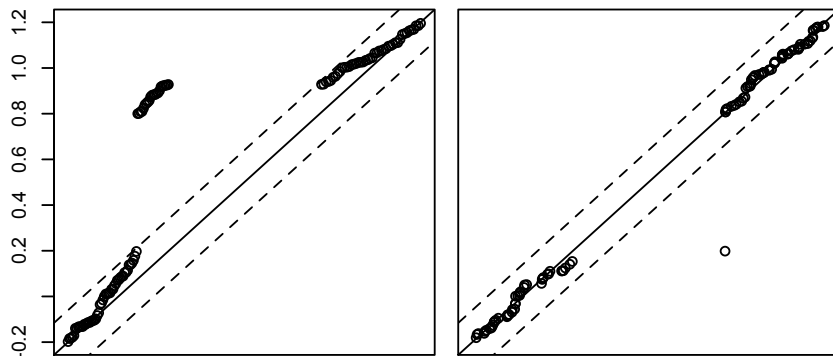
Indistance



democracy1

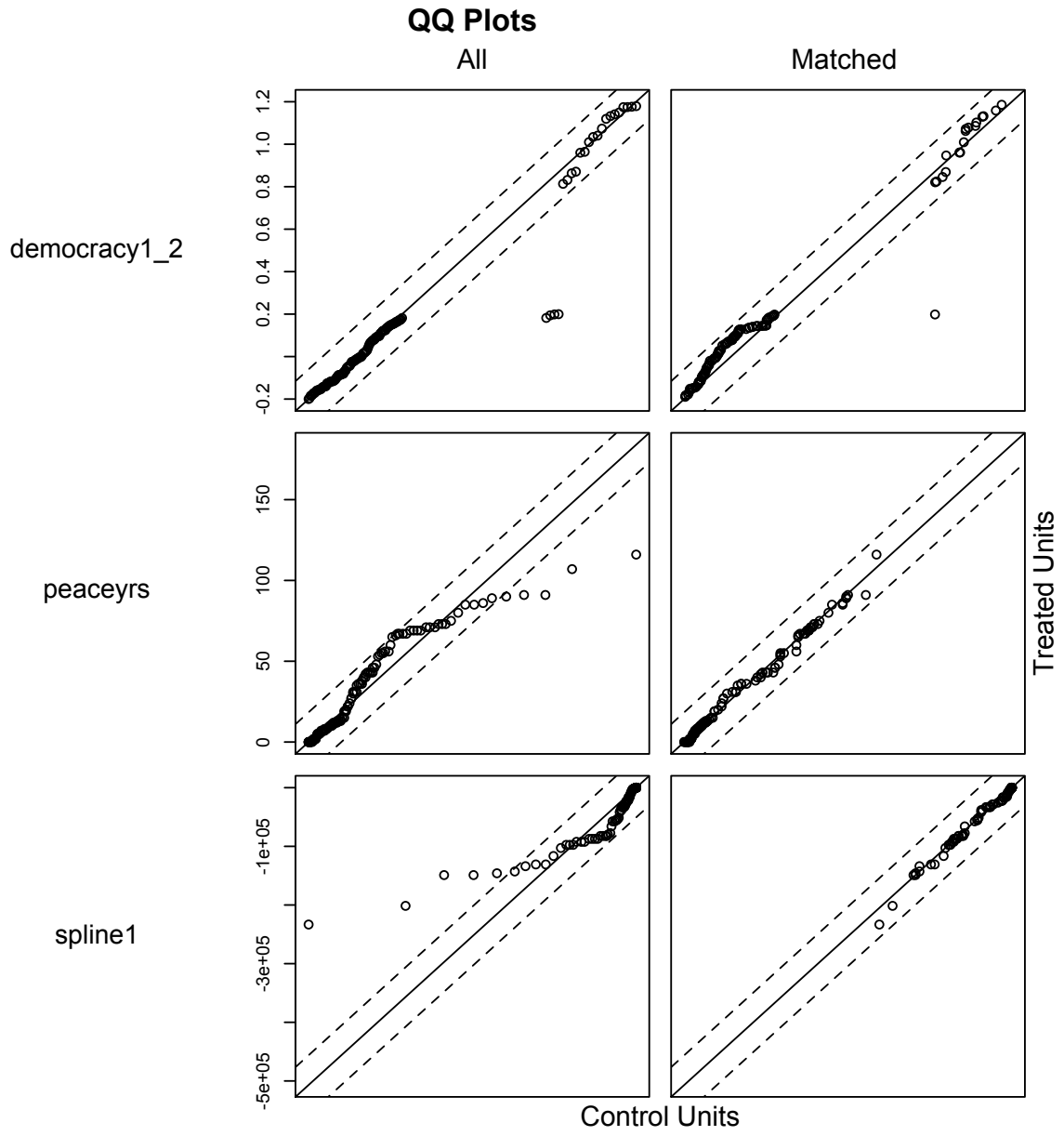


democracy2



Treated Units

Control Units

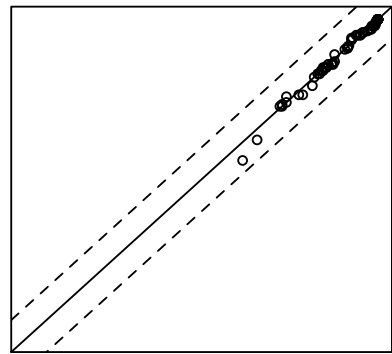
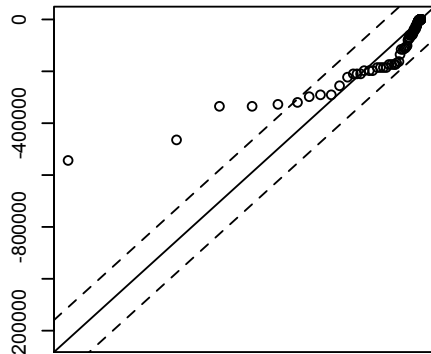


QQ Plots

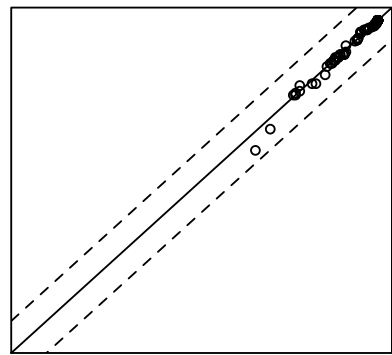
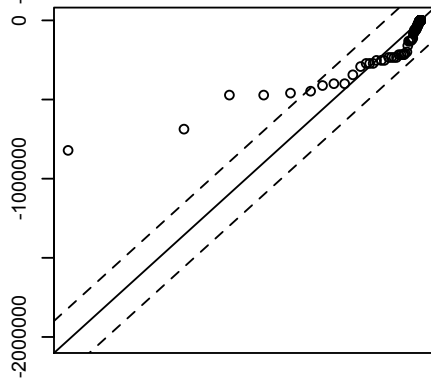
All

Matched

spline2



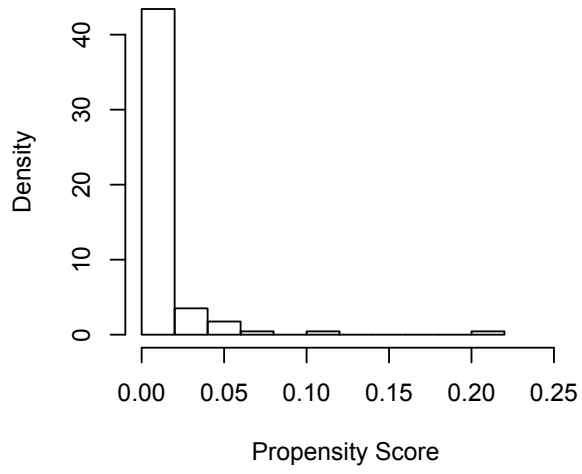
spline3



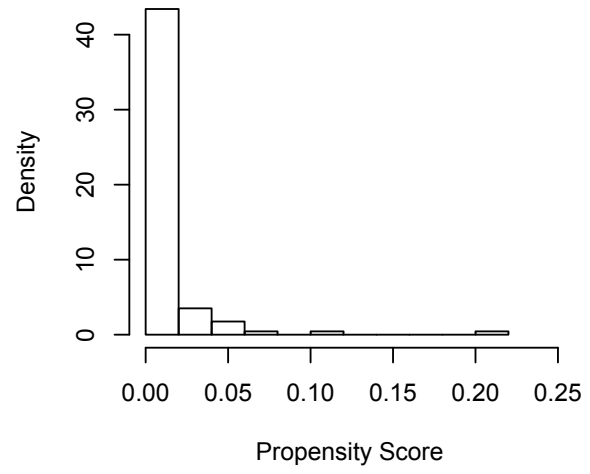
Treated Units

Control Units

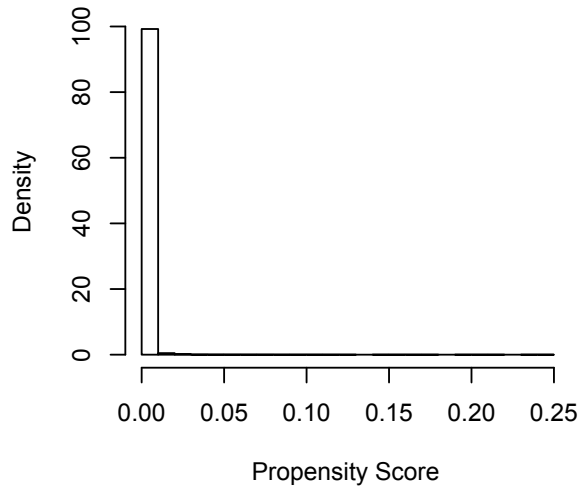
Raw Treated



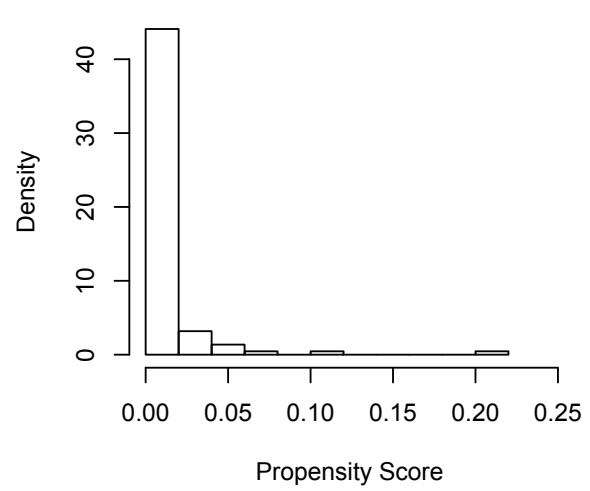
Matched Treated



Raw Control



Matched Control



COVERT FIRIC (ALL): ANALYSIS OF MATCHED DATA

use "/Users/andy/Dropbox/O'Rourke Downes FIRIC Folder/FIRIC and MIDs/Data and Analysis/Matching
 October 2016/covfiricmidgenmatchoct16.dta"
 (Written by R.)

ttest cwinit10, by(covertfirc)

Two-sample t test with equal variances

Group	Obs	Mean	Std. Err.	Std. Dev.	[95% Conf. Interval]	
0	110	.0454545	.0199514	.2092522	.0059115	.0849976
1	114	.1754386	.0357795	.382021	.1045529	.2463243
combined	224	.1116071	.0210861	.3155877	.0700536	.1531606
diff		-.1299841	.0413638		-.2115001	-.048468
diff = mean(0) - mean(1)					t = -3.1425	
Ho: diff = 0					degrees of freedom = 222	

Ha: diff < 0 Ha: diff != 0 Ha: diff > 0
 Pr(T < t) = 0.0010 Pr(|T| > |t|) = 0.0019 Pr(T > t) = 0.9990

ttest midinit_fatal10, by(covertfirc)

Two-sample t test with equal variances

Group	Obs	Mean	Std. Err.	Std. Dev.	[95% Conf. Interval]	
0	110	.0181818	.0127974	.13422	-.0071822	.0435458
1	114	.1403509	.032676	.3488843	.0756138	.2050879
combined	224	.0803571	.0182041	.2724541	.0444831	.1162312
diff		-.1221691	.0355629		-.1922532	-.0520849
diff = mean(0) - mean(1)					t = -3.4353	
Ho: diff = 0					degrees of freedom = 222	

Ha: diff < 0 Ha: diff != 0 Ha: diff > 0
 Pr(T < t) = 0.0004 Pr(|T| > |t|) = 0.0007 Pr(T > t) = 0.9996

ttest midinit_war10, by(covertfirc)

Two-sample t test with equal variances

Group	Obs	Mean	Std. Err.	Std. Dev.	[95% Conf. Interval]	
0	110	0	0	0	0	0
1	114	.0175439	.0123504	.1318659	-.0069244	.0420122
combined	224	.0089286	.0062993	.094279	-.0034852	.0213423
diff		-.0175439	.0125739		-.0423234	.0072356
diff = mean(0) - mean(1)					t = -1.3953	
Ho: diff = 0					degrees of freedom = 222	

Ha: diff < 0 Ha: diff != 0 Ha: diff > 0
 Pr(T < t) = 0.0822 Pr(|T| > |t|) = 0.1643 Pr(T > t) = 0.9178

```
probit cwinit10 covertfirc cap_1 cap_2 capshare_1 s_wt_glo s_ld_1 s_ld_2 lndistance democracy1,
robust cluster(dyad_id)
```

```
Iteration 0: log pseudolikelihood = -78.36916
Iteration 1: log pseudolikelihood = -61.001805
Iteration 2: log pseudolikelihood = -59.077255
Iteration 3: log pseudolikelihood = -58.94977
Iteration 4: log pseudolikelihood = -58.949461
Iteration 5: log pseudolikelihood = -58.949461
```

```
Probit regression                               Number of obs   =       224
                                                Wald chi2(9)    =       34.18
                                                Prob > chi2     =       0.0001
Log pseudolikelihood = -58.949461             Pseudo R2      =       0.2478
```

(Std. Err. adjusted for 170 clusters in dyad_id)

cwinit10	Coef.	Robust Std. Err.	z	P> z	[95% Conf. Interval]	
covertfirc	1.045641	.3437494	3.04	0.002	.3719046	1.719377
cap_1	-.2325851	3.200479	-0.07	0.942	-6.505408	6.040238
cap_2	7.474093	3.912741	1.91	0.056	-.1947383	15.14293
capshare_1	3.052333	1.815794	1.68	0.093	-.5065582	6.611224
s_wt_glo	-.2436168	.8567698	-0.28	0.776	-1.922855	1.435621
s_ld_1	1.365124	1.27701	1.07	0.285	-1.13777	3.868018
s_ld_2	-.3918288	1.280946	-0.31	0.760	-2.902436	2.118779
lndistance	-.201189	.0672679	-2.99	0.003	-.3330317	-.0693462
democracy1	-2.478298	1.313894	-1.89	0.059	-5.053483	.0968878
_cons	-2.020909	2.046873	-0.99	0.323	-6.032707	1.990889

COVERT LEADERSHIP FIRIC

```
library(foreign)
library(MatchIt)
library(Matching)
library(rgenoud)
```

```
clfirc.out1 <- matchit(covleaderfirc ~ cap_1 + cap_2 + capshare_1 + s_wt_glo + s_ld_1 + s_ld_2 +
  lndistance + democracy1 + democracy2 + democracy1_2 + peaceyrs + splinel + spline2 + spline3,
  data=clfirc, method="genetic", pop.size=200)
```

```
summary(clfirc.out1)
```

Call:

```
matchit(formula = covleaderfirc ~ cap_1 + cap_2 + capshare_1 +
  s_wt_glo + s_ld_1 + s_ld_2 + lndistance + democracy1 + democracy2 +
  democracy1_2 + peaceyrs + splinel + spline2 + spline3, data = clfirc,
  method = "genetic", pop.size = 200)
```

Summary of balance for all data:

Table with 10 columns: variable, Means Treated, Means Control, SD Control, Mean Diff, eQQ Med, eQQ Mean, eQQ Max. Rows include distance, cap_1, cap_2, capshare_1, s_wt_glo, s_ld_1, s_ld_2, lndistance, democracy1, democracy2, democracy1_2, peaceyrs, splinel, spline2, spline3.

Summary of balance for matched data:

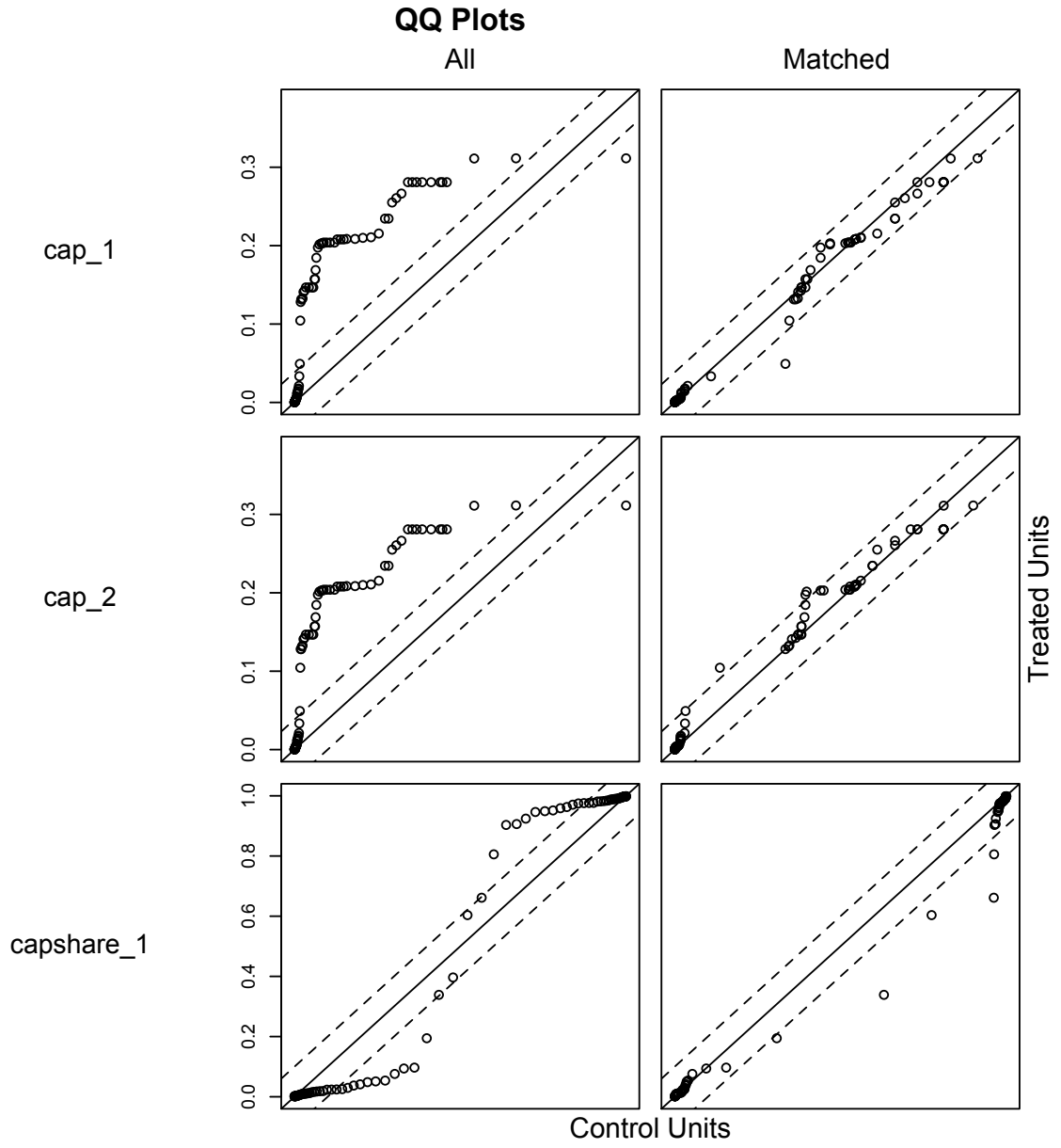
Table with 10 columns: variable, Means Treated, Means Control, SD Control, Mean Diff, eQQ Med, eQQ Mean, eQQ Max. Rows include distance, cap_1, cap_2, capshare_1, s_wt_glo, s_ld_1, s_ld_2, lndistance, democracy1, democracy2, democracy1_2, peaceyrs, splinel, spline2, spline3.

Percent Balance Improvement:

Table with 5 columns: variable, Mean Diff., eQQ Med, eQQ Mean, eQQ Max. Rows include distance, cap_1, cap_2, capshare_1, s_wt_glo, s_ld_1, s_ld_2, lndistance, democracy1, democracy2, democracy1_2, peaceyrs, splinel, spline2, spline3.

Sample sizes:

	Control	Treated
All	173732	90
Matched	88	90
Unmatched	173644	0
Discarded	0	0

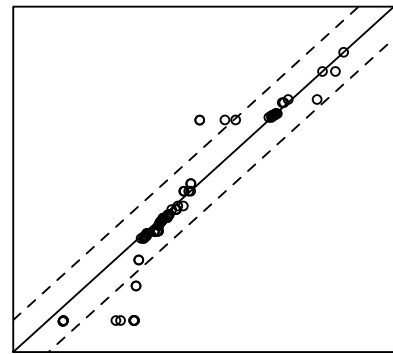
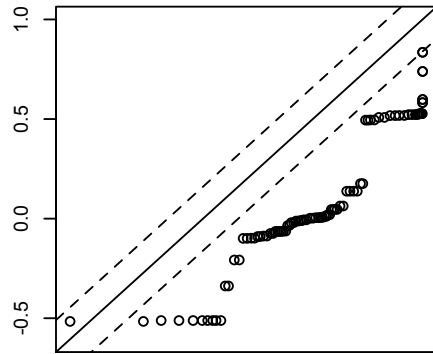


QQ Plots

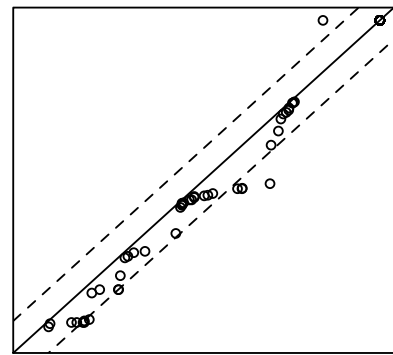
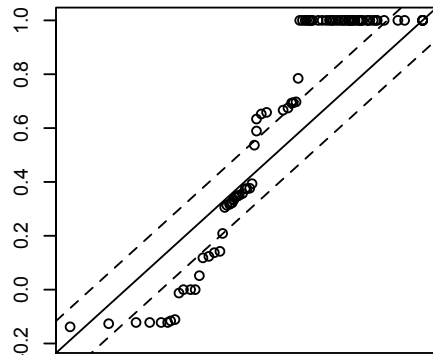
All

Matched

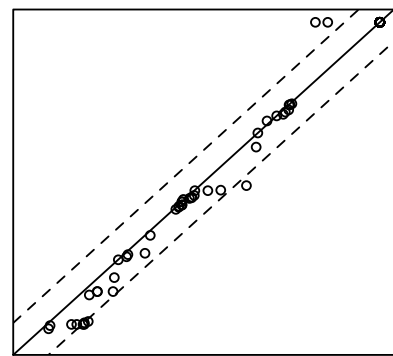
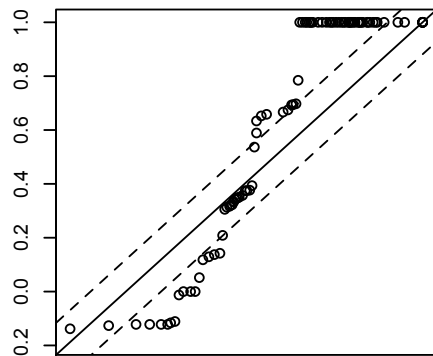
s_wt_glo



s_ld_1

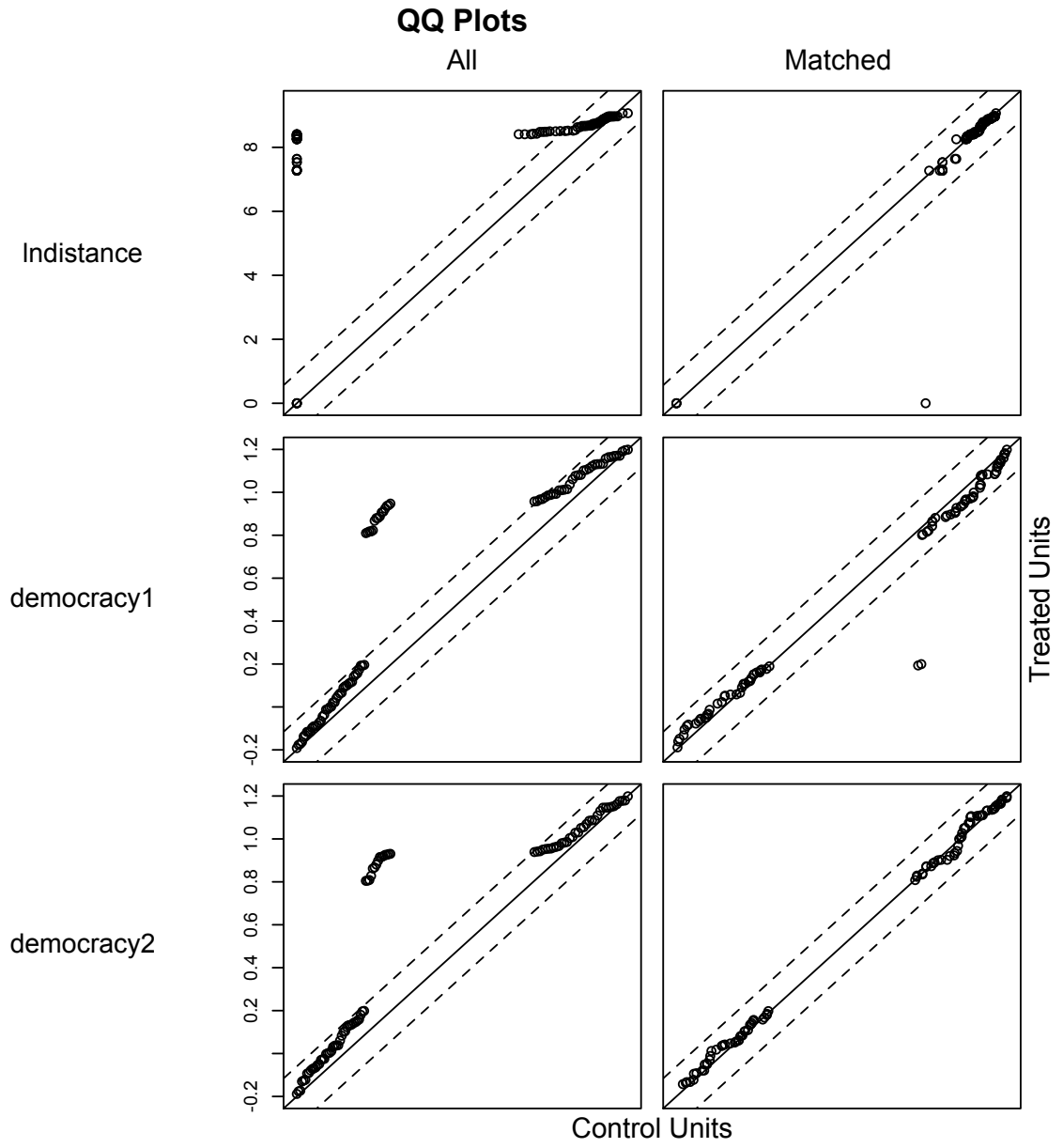


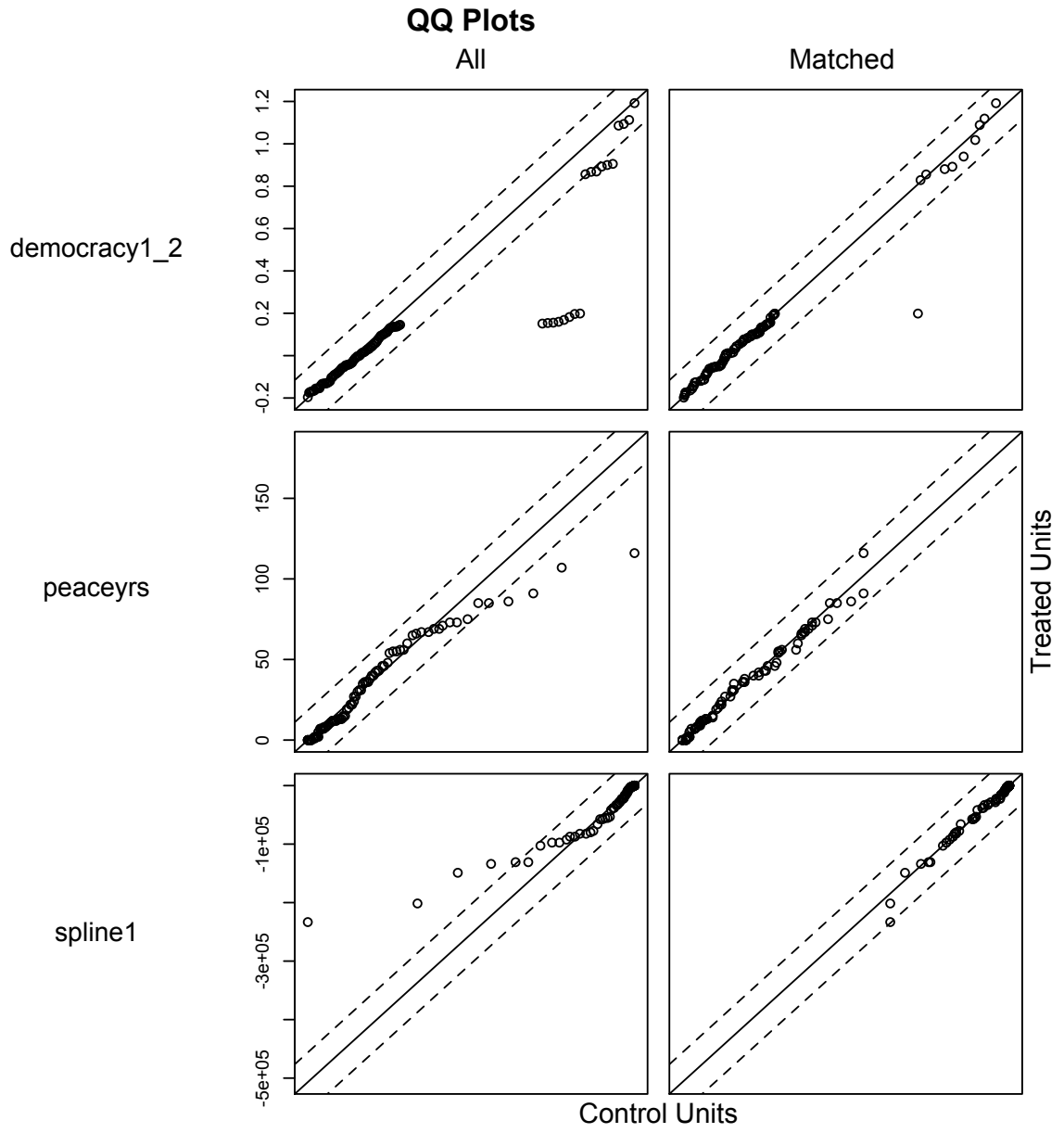
s_ld_2

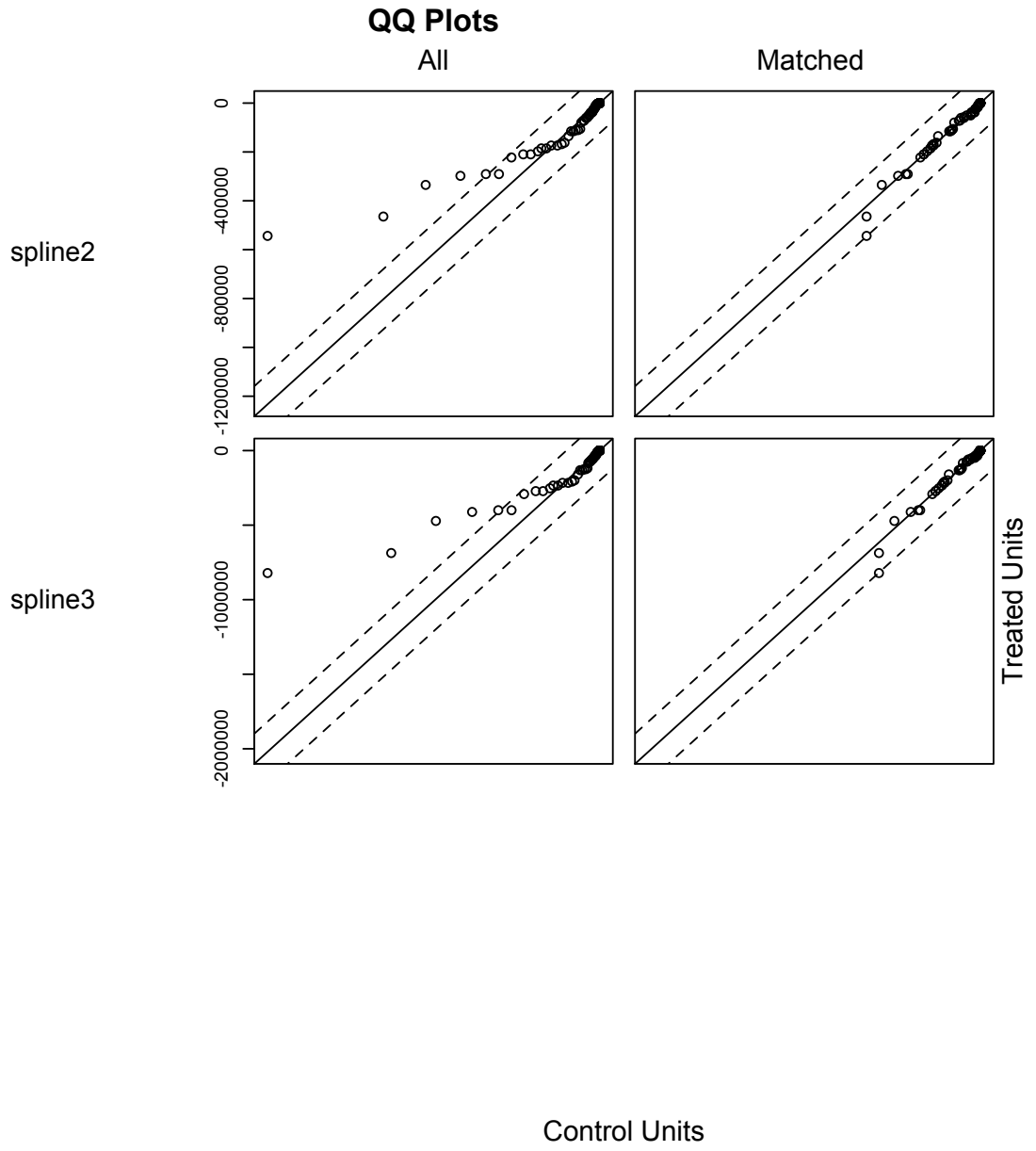


Treated Units

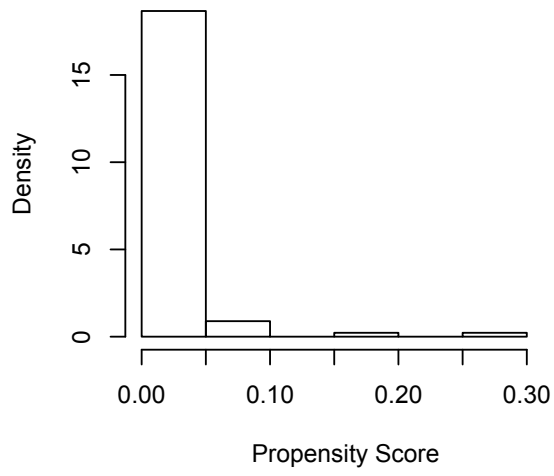
Control Units



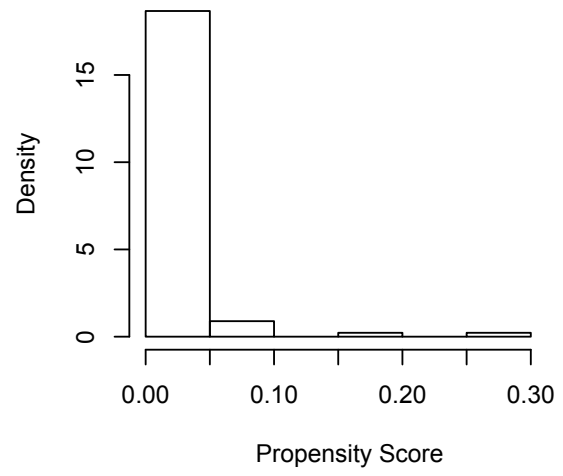




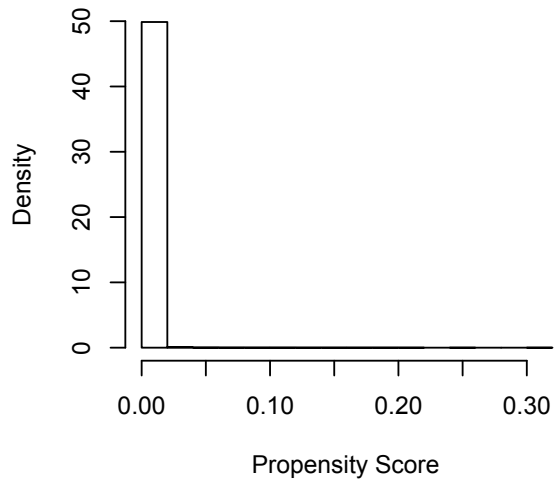
Raw Treated



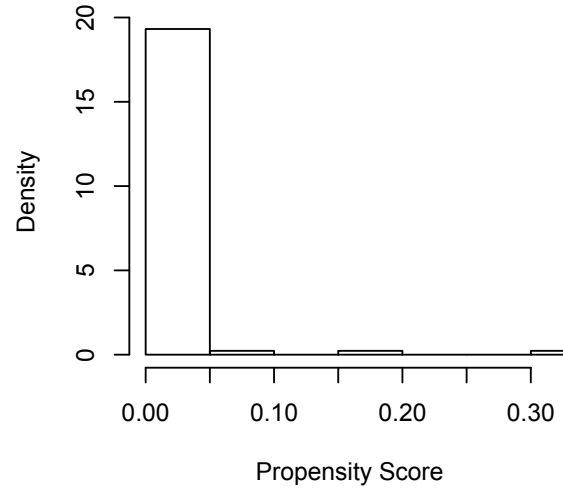
Matched Treated



Raw Control



Matched Control




```

probit cwinit10 covleaderfirc cap_1 cap_2 capshare_1 s_wt_glo s_ld_1 s_ld_2 lndistance democracy1
democracy2, robust cluster(dyad_
> id)

```

```

Iteration 0: log pseudolikelihood = -56.086742
Iteration 1: log pseudolikelihood = -36.463734
Iteration 2: log pseudolikelihood = -32.882485
Iteration 3: log pseudolikelihood = -32.145209
Iteration 4: log pseudolikelihood = -32.084328
Iteration 5: log pseudolikelihood = -32.075429
Iteration 6: log pseudolikelihood = -32.074266
Iteration 7: log pseudolikelihood = -32.07408
Iteration 8: log pseudolikelihood = -32.074043
Iteration 9: log pseudolikelihood = -32.074039
Iteration 10: log pseudolikelihood = -32.074038

```

```

Probit regression                               Number of obs   =          178
                                                Wald chi2(10)  =        333.35
                                                Prob > chi2    =          0.0000
Log pseudolikelihood = -32.074038              Pseudo R2      =          0.4281

```

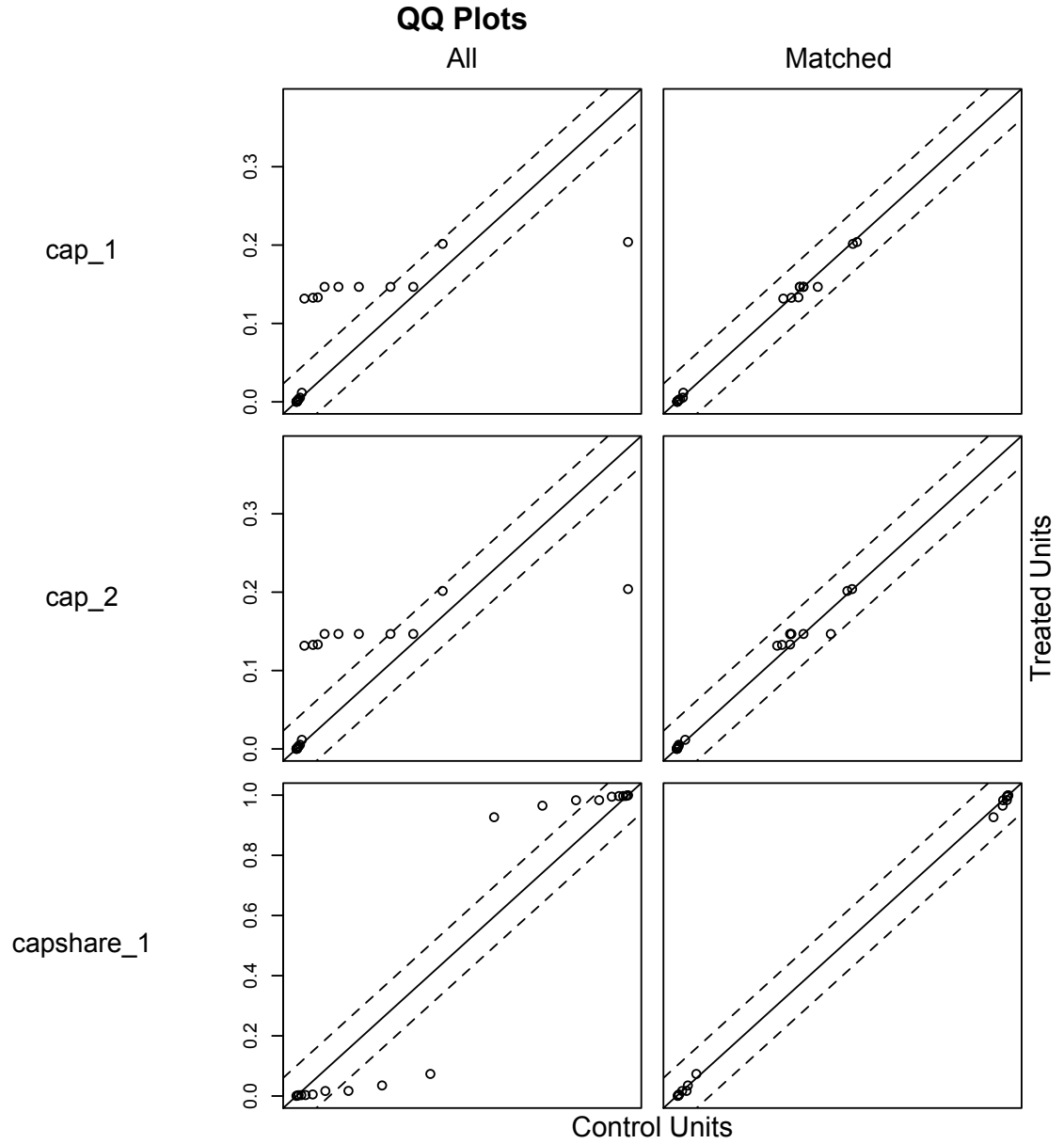
(Std. Err. adjusted for 137 clusters in dyad_id)

	Coef.	Robust Std. Err.	z	P> z	[95% Conf. Interval]	
cwinit10						
covleaderfirc	1.894724	.7619898	2.49	0.013	.4012517	3.388197
cap_1	.1426737	4.556263	0.03	0.975	-8.787438	9.072785
cap_2	14.48271	5.492405	2.64	0.008	3.717794	25.24763
capshare_1	-.6523106	2.290207	-0.28	0.776	-5.141033	3.836412
s_wt_glo	1.778007	1.08628	1.64	0.102	-.351063	3.907077
s_ld_1	-1.205658	1.489868	-0.81	0.418	-4.125747	1.71443
s_ld_2	-3.144616	1.54317	-2.04	0.042	-6.169173	-.1200586
lndistance	-.2672781	.088238	-3.03	0.002	-.4402215	-.0943348
democracy1	-6.488494	.8912048	-7.28	0.000	-8.235223	-4.741764
democracy2	-8.8619	2.421403	-3.66	0.000	-13.60776	-4.116038
_cons	8.213833	3.316342	2.48	0.013	1.713921	14.71374

Note: 18 failures and 0 successes completely determined.

Sample sizes:

	Control	Treated
All	173732	20
Matched	20	20
Unmatched	173712	0
Discarded	0	0

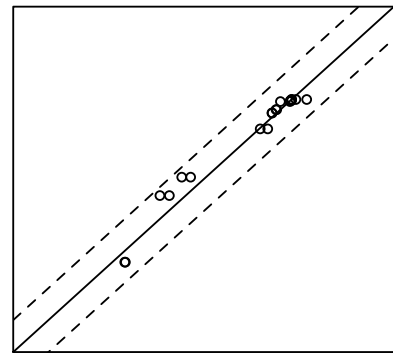
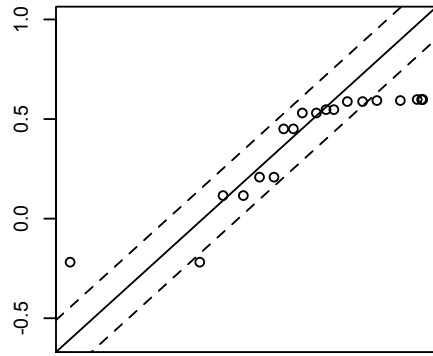


QQ Plots

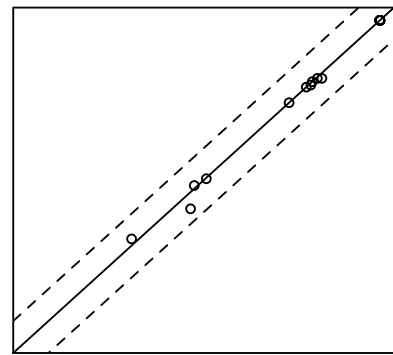
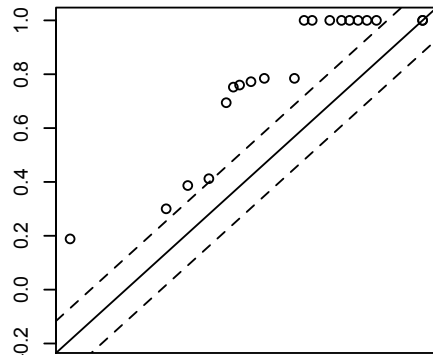
All

Matched

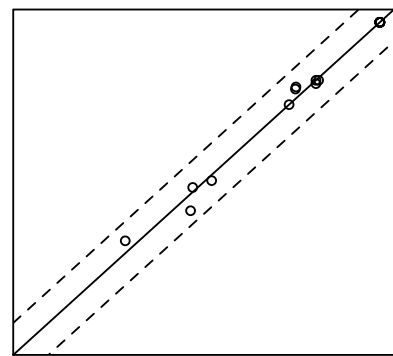
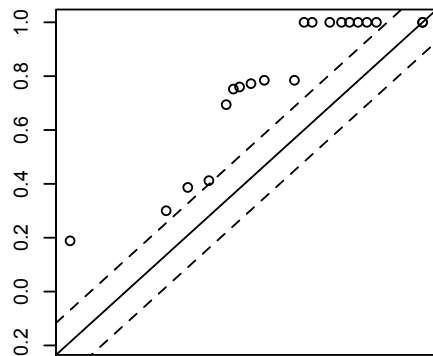
s_wt_glo



s_ld_1



s_ld_2



Treated Units

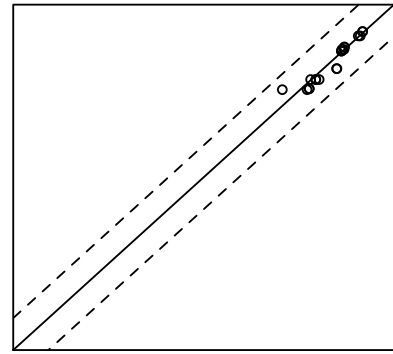
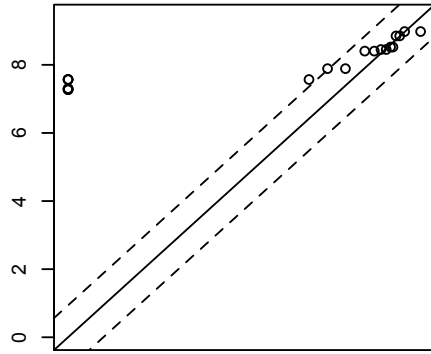
Control Units

QQ Plots

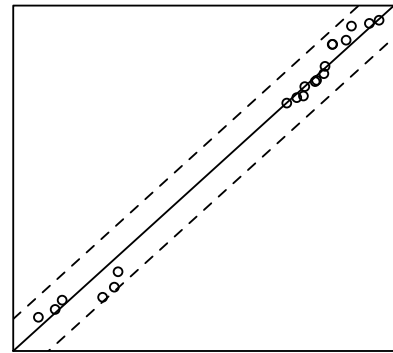
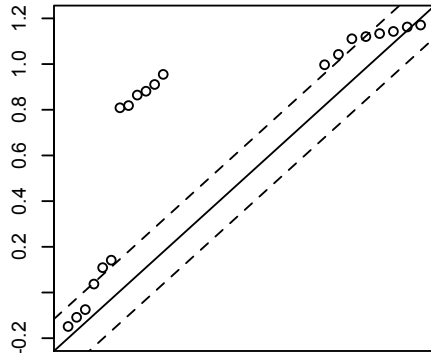
All

Matched

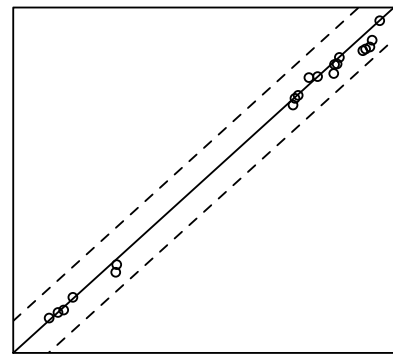
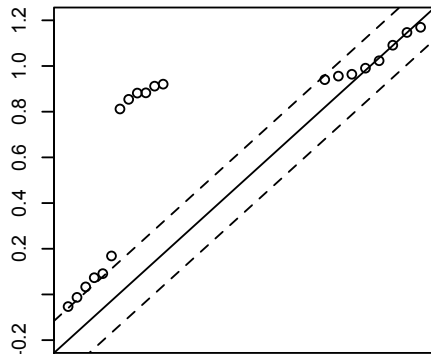
Indistance



democracy1

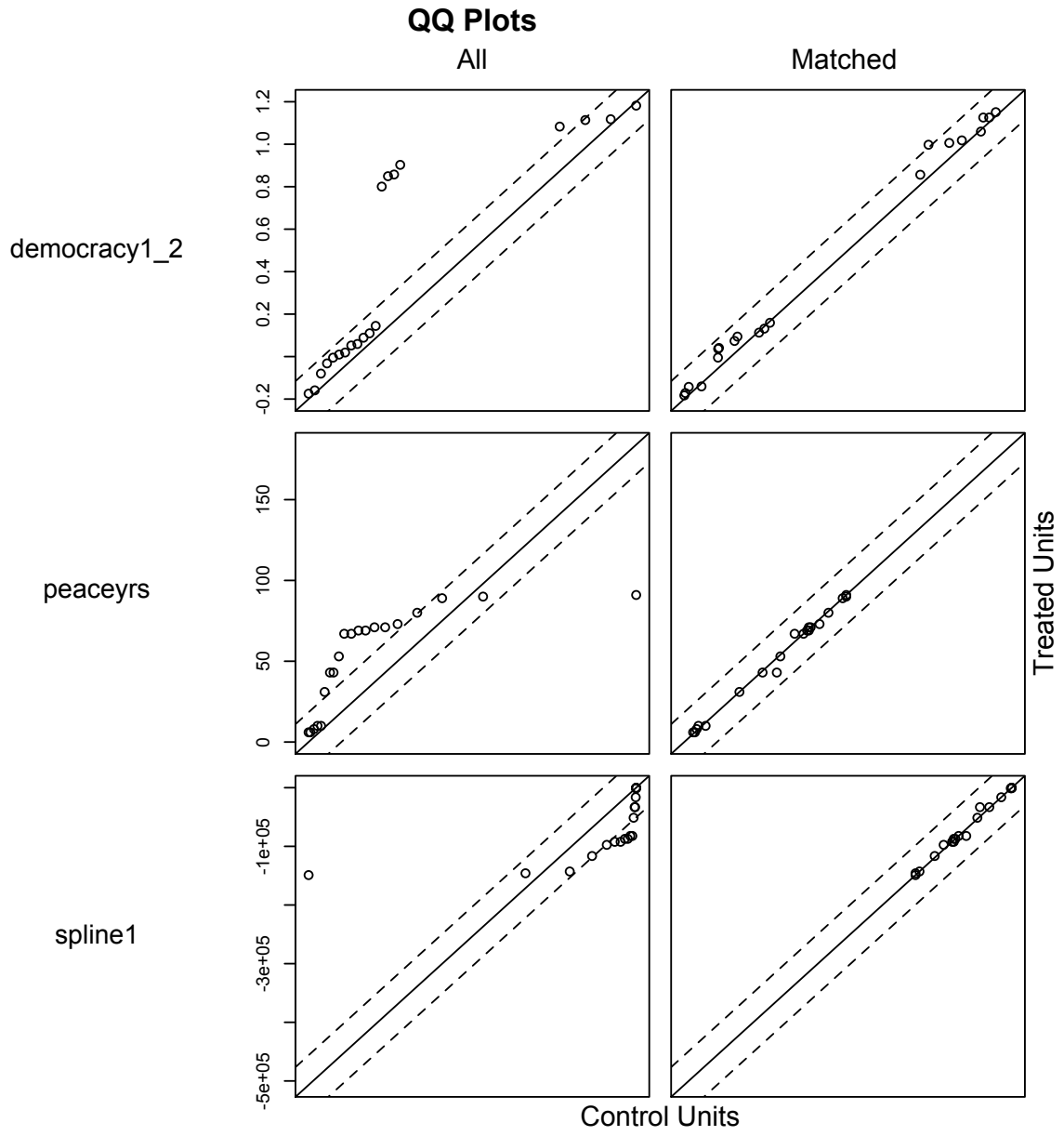


democracy2



Treated Units

Control Units

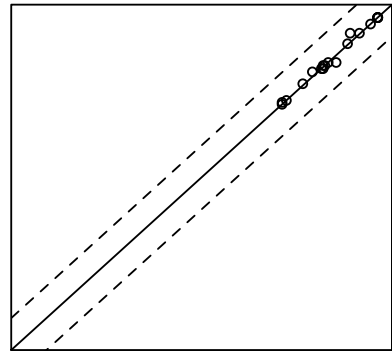
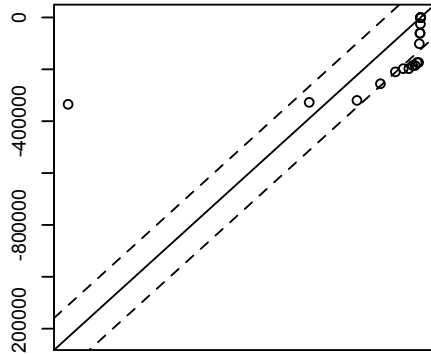


QQ Plots

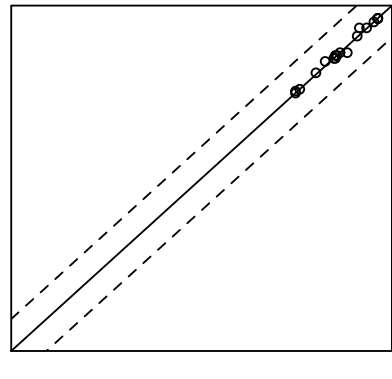
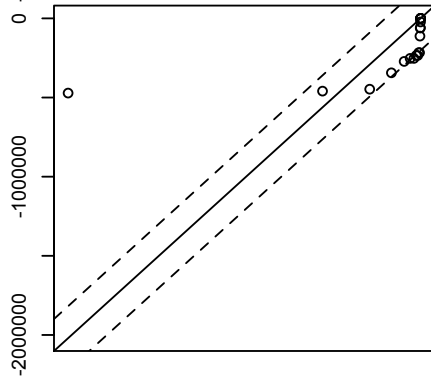
All

Matched

spline2



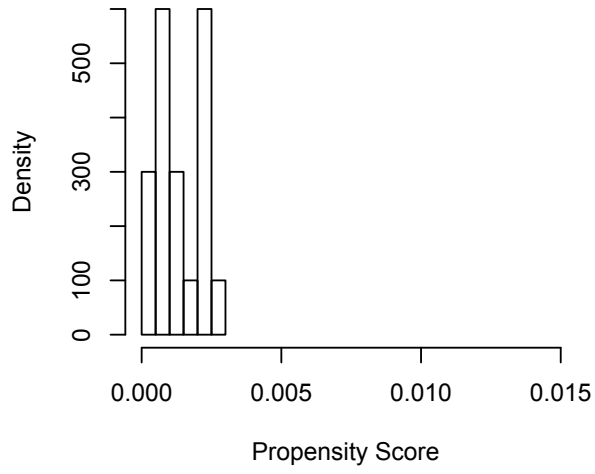
spline3



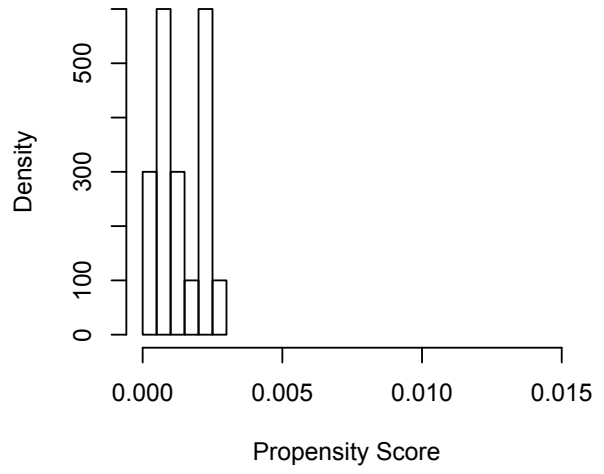
Treated Units

Control Units

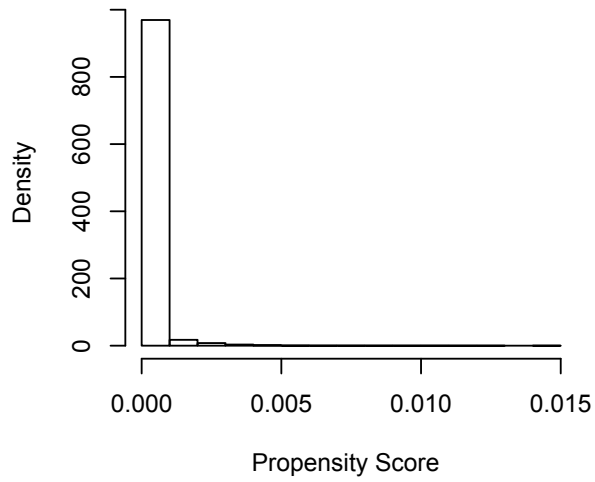
Raw Treated



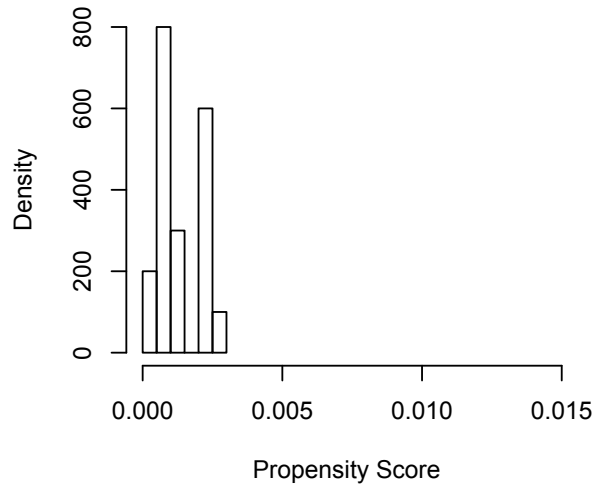
Matched Treated



Raw Control



Matched Control



COVERT INSTITUTIONAL FIRC: ANALYSIS OF MATCHED DATA

use "/Users/abdownes/Dropbox/O'Rourke Downes FIRC Folder/FIRC and MIDs/Data and Analysis/Matching
November 2016/covinstfircmidgenm

> atchnov16.dta"

(Written by R.)

ttest cwinit10, by(covinstfirc)

Two-sample t test with equal variances

Group	Obs	Mean	Std. Err.	Std. Dev.	[95% Conf. Interval]
0	20	.1	.0688247	.3077935	-.0440518 .2440518
1	20	.15	.0819178	.3663475	-.0214559 .3214559
combined	40	.125	.0529574	.3349321	.0178835 .2321165
diff		-.05	.1069924		-.2665947 .1665947

diff = mean(0) - mean(1) t = -0.4673
Ho: diff = 0 degrees of freedom = 38

Ha: diff < 0 Ha: diff != 0 Ha: diff > 0
Pr(T < t) = 0.3215 Pr(|T| > |t|) = 0.6429 Pr(T > t) = 0.6785

ttest midinit_fatal10, by(covinstfirc)

Two-sample t test with equal variances

Group	Obs	Mean	Std. Err.	Std. Dev.	[95% Conf. Interval]
0	20	.05	.05	.2236068	-.0546512 .1546512
1	20	.05	.05	.2236068	-.0546512 .1546512
combined	40	.05	.0348991	.2207214	-.0205901 .1205901
diff		0	.0707107		-.1431463 .1431463

diff = mean(0) - mean(1) t = 0.0000
Ho: diff = 0 degrees of freedom = 38

Ha: diff < 0 Ha: diff != 0 Ha: diff > 0
Pr(T < t) = 0.5000 Pr(|T| > |t|) = 1.0000 Pr(T > t) = 0.5000

ttest midinit_war10, by(covinstfirc)

Two-sample t test with equal variances

Group	Obs	Mean	Std. Err.	Std. Dev.	[95% Conf. Interval]
0	20	0	0	0	0 0
1	20	0	0	0	0 0
combined	40	0	0	0	0 0
diff		0	0		0 0

diff = mean(0) - mean(1) t = .
Ho: diff = 0 degrees of freedom = 38

Ha: diff < 0 Ha: diff != 0 Ha: diff > 0
Pr(T < t) = . Pr(|T| > |t|) = . Pr(T > t) = .

probit cwinit10 covinstfirc cap_1 cap_2 capshare_1 lndistance, robust cluster(dyad_id)

Iteration 0: log pseudolikelihood = -15.070806
Iteration 1: log pseudolikelihood = -12.588334
Iteration 2: log pseudolikelihood = -12.322518
Iteration 3: log pseudolikelihood = -12.296709
Iteration 4: log pseudolikelihood = -12.296663
Iteration 5: log pseudolikelihood = -12.296663

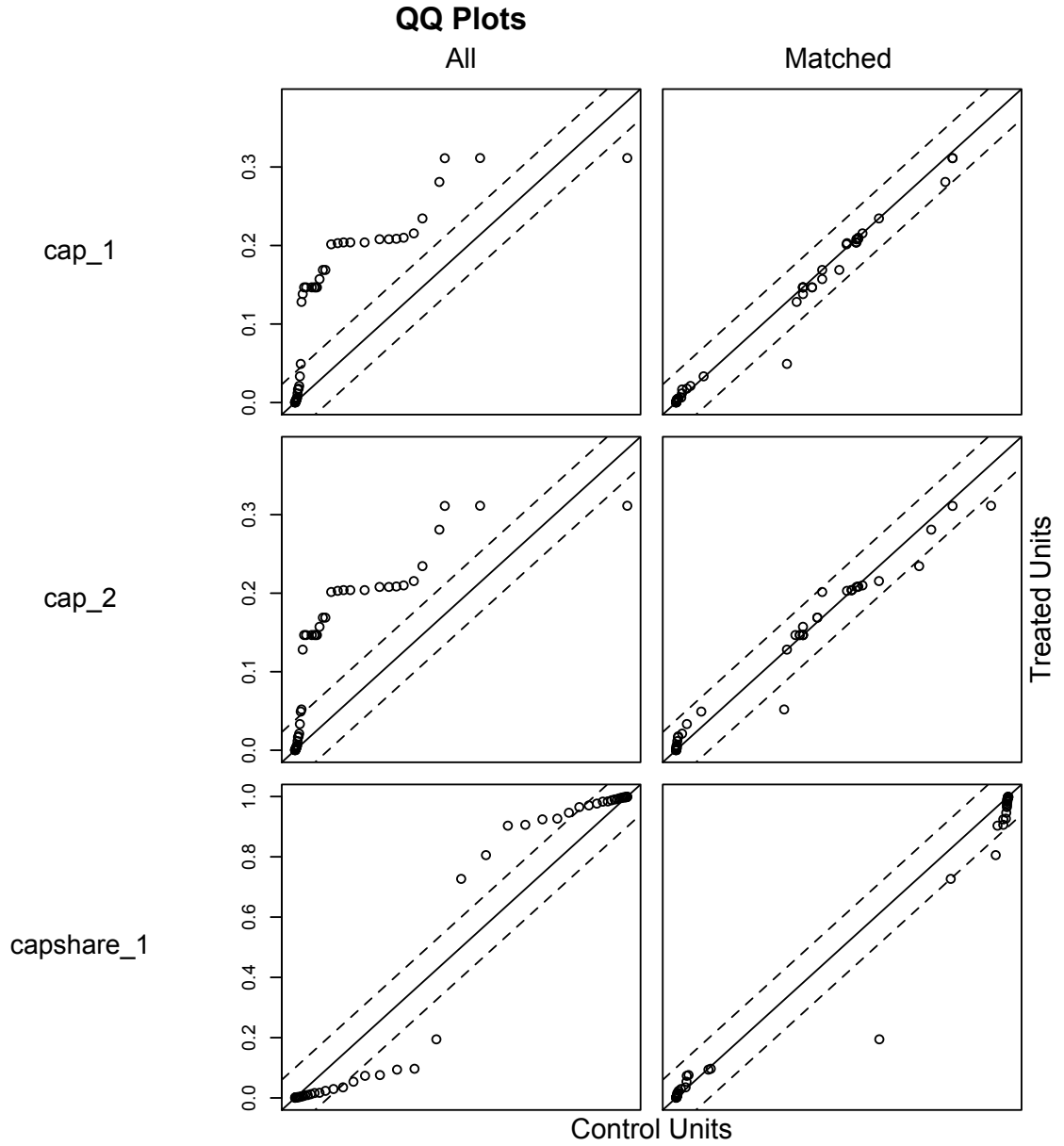
Probit regression
Log pseudolikelihood = -12.296663
Number of obs = 40
Wald chi2(5) = 6.36
Prob > chi2 = 0.2728
Pseudo R2 = 0.1841

(Std. Err. adjusted for 37 clusters in dyad_id)

		Robust				[95% Conf. Interval]	
	Coef.	Std. Err.	z	P> z			
cwinit10							
covinstfirc	.1965036	.5308334	0.37	0.711	-.8439107	1.236918	
cap_1	-42.95264	36.20904	-1.19	0.236	-113.9211	28.01577	
cap_2	6.735975	12.10454	0.56	0.578	-16.98849	30.46044	
capshare_1	7.529771	5.617443	1.34	0.180	-3.480216	18.53976	
lndistance	-.683462	.4969765	-1.38	0.169	-1.657518	.2905941	
_cons	3.005978	4.776366	0.63	0.529	-6.355528	12.36748	

Sample sizes:

	Control	Treated
All	173732	51
Matched	50	51
Unmatched	173682	0
Discarded	0	0

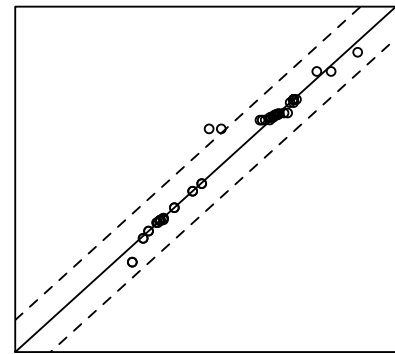
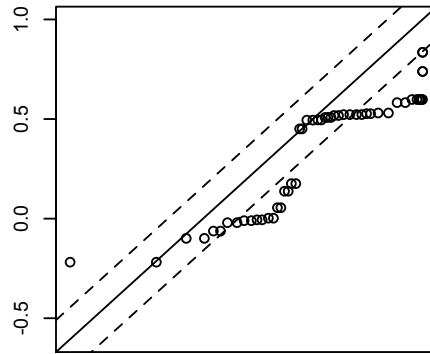


QQ Plots

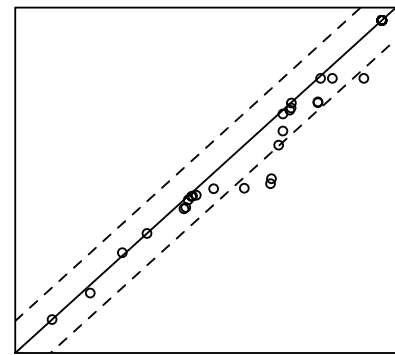
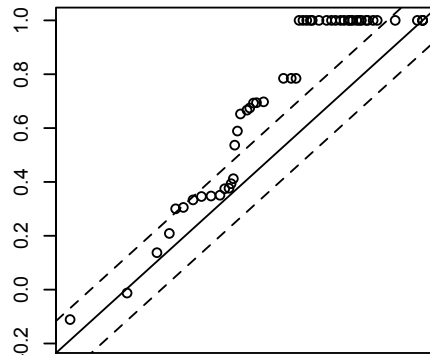
All

Matched

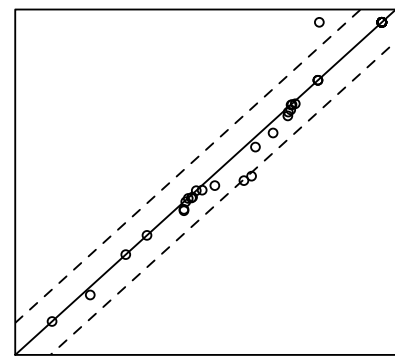
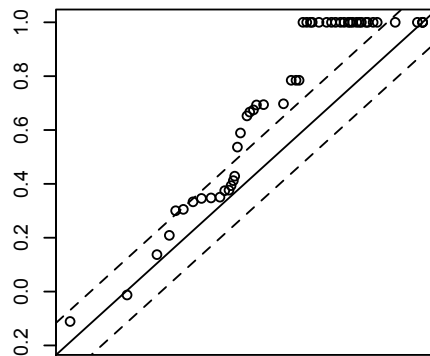
s_wt_glo



s_ld_1

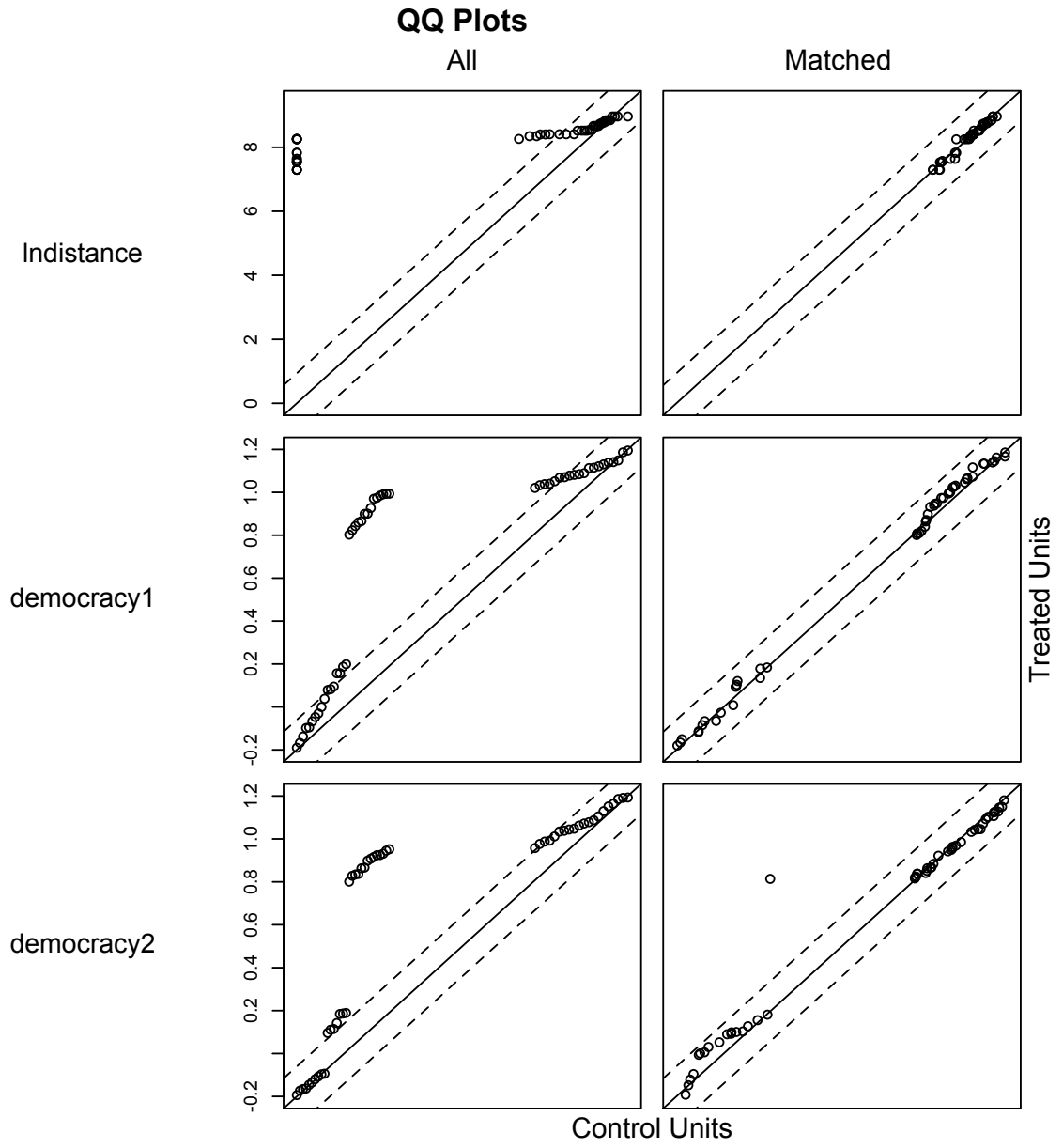


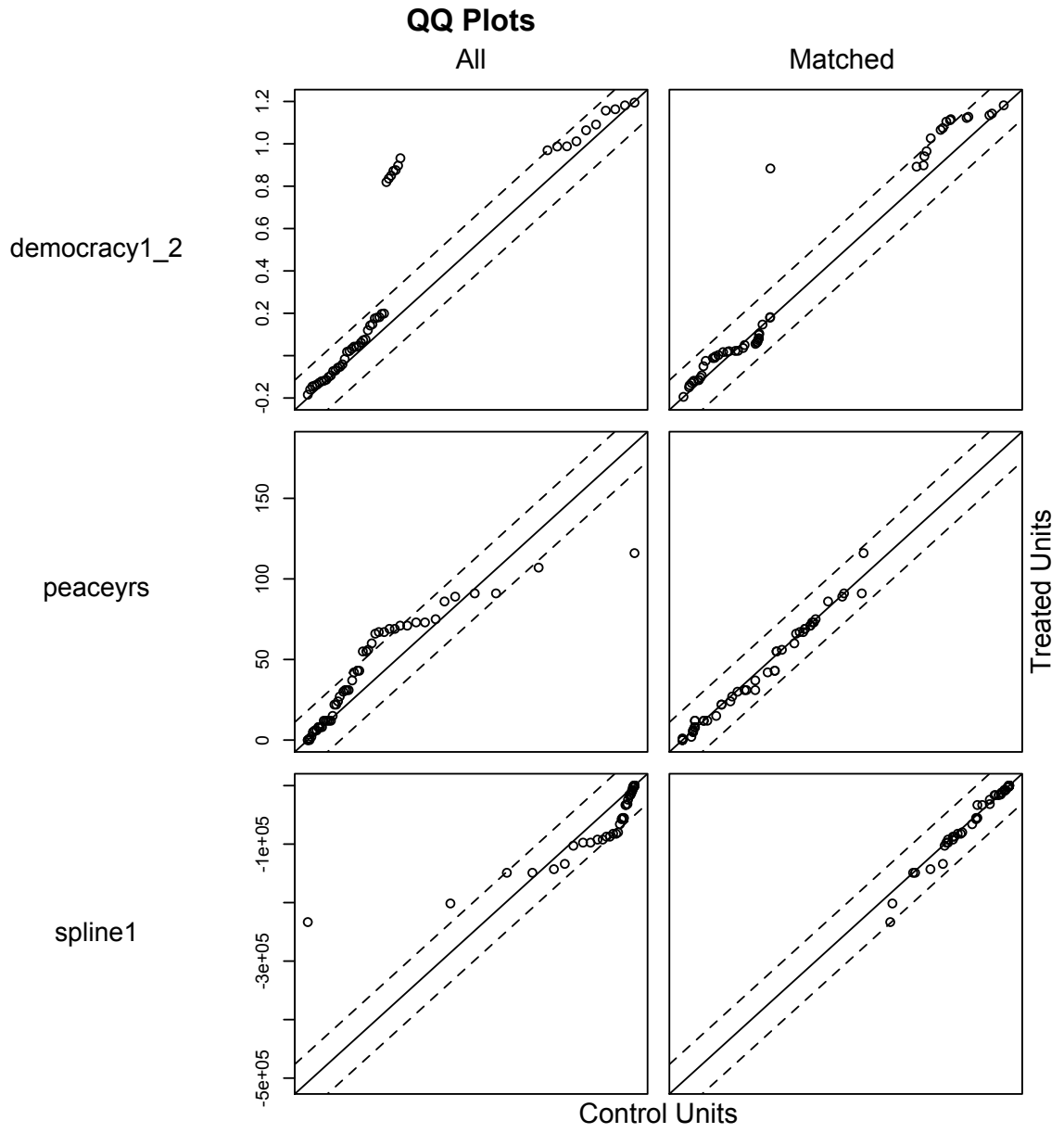
s_ld_2



Treated Units

Control Units



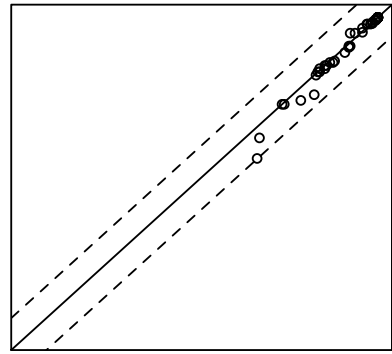
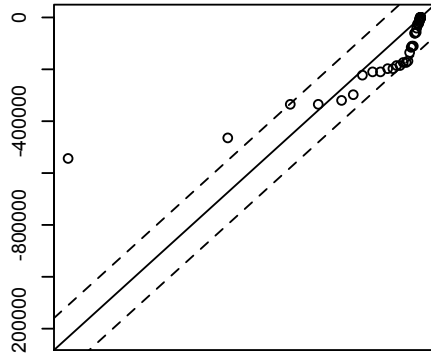


QQ Plots

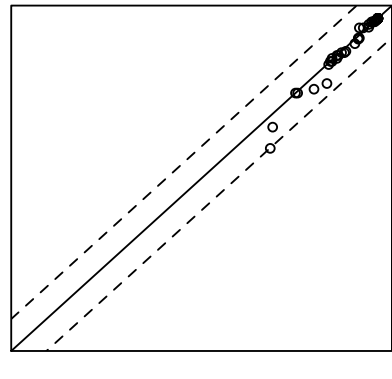
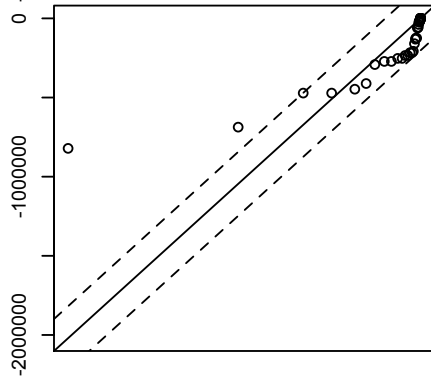
All

Matched

spline2



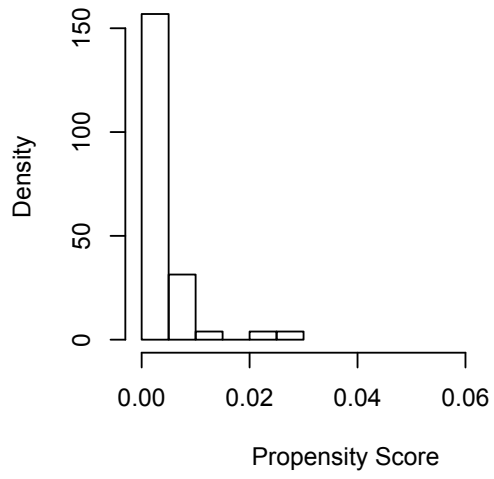
spline3



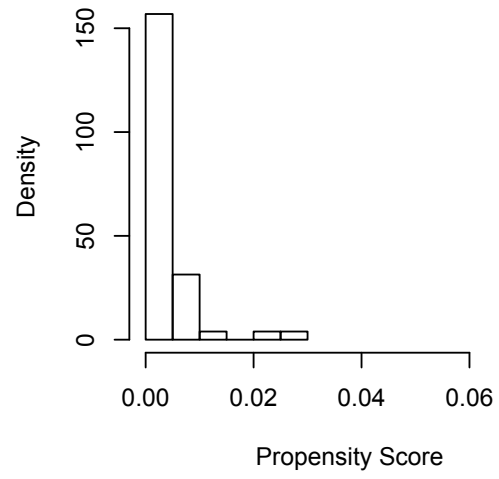
Treated Units

Control Units

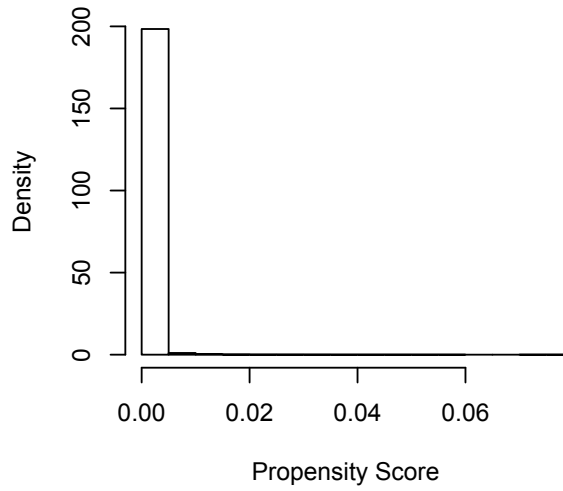
Raw Treated



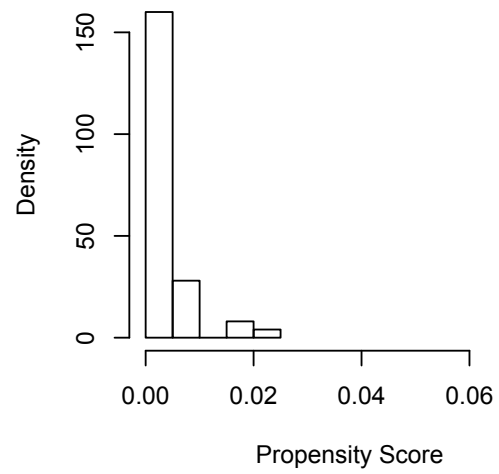
Matched Treated



Raw Control



Matched Control



SUCCESSFUL COVERT FIRC: ANALYSIS OF MATCHED DATA

```
use "/Users/downes/Dropbox/O'Rourke Downes FIRC Folder/FIRC and MIDs/Data and Analysis/Matching
November 2016/covfircsuccmidgenmatchnov16.dta"
(Written by R. )
```

```
ttest cwinit10, by(covfircsucc)
```

Two-sample t test with equal variances

Group	Obs	Mean	Std. Err.	Std. Dev.	[95% Conf. Interval]		
0	50	.02	.02	.1414214	-.0201915	.0601915	
1	51	.0392157	.027451	.1960392	-.0159212	.0943526	

combined	101	.029703	.0169767	.1706133	-.0039782	.0633842	

diff		-.0192157	.0340714		-.0868206	.0483893	

		diff = mean(0) - mean(1)				t =	-0.5640
Ho: diff = 0					degrees of freedom =	99	

```
Ha: diff < 0          Ha: diff != 0          Ha: diff > 0
Pr(T < t) = 0.2870    Pr(|T| > |t|) = 0.5740    Pr(T > t) = 0.7130
```

```
ttest midinit_fatal10, by(covfircsucc)
```

Two-sample t test with equal variances

Group	Obs	Mean	Std. Err.	Std. Dev.	[95% Conf. Interval]		
0	50	.02	.02	.1414214	-.0201915	.0601915	
1	51	.0392157	.027451	.1960392	-.0159212	.0943526	

combined	101	.029703	.0169767	.1706133	-.0039782	.0633842	

diff		-.0192157	.0340714		-.0868206	.0483893	

		diff = mean(0) - mean(1)				t =	-0.5640
Ho: diff = 0					degrees of freedom =	99	

```
Ha: diff < 0          Ha: diff != 0          Ha: diff > 0
Pr(T < t) = 0.2870    Pr(|T| > |t|) = 0.5740    Pr(T > t) = 0.7130
```

```
ttest midinit_war10, by(covfircsucc)
```

Two-sample t test with equal variances

Group	Obs	Mean	Std. Err.	Std. Dev.	[95% Conf. Interval]		
0	50	0	0	0	0	0	
1	51	0	0	0	0	0	

combined	101	0	0	0	0	0	

diff		0	0		0	0	

		diff = mean(0) - mean(1)				t =	.
Ho: diff = 0					degrees of freedom =	99	

```
Ha: diff < 0          Ha: diff != 0          Ha: diff > 0
Pr(T < t) = .          Pr(|T| > |t|) = .          Pr(T > t) = .
```

```
probit cwinit10 covfirmsucc cap_1 cap_2 capshare_1 s_wt_glo s_ld_1 s_ld_2 lndistance democracy1
democracy2, robust cluster(dyad_id)
```

```
Iteration 0: log pseudolikelihood = -13.504522
Iteration 1: log pseudolikelihood = -9.5747647
Iteration 2: log pseudolikelihood = -8.2542594
Iteration 3: log pseudolikelihood = -8.0735255
Iteration 4: log pseudolikelihood = -7.7580874
Iteration 5: log pseudolikelihood = -7.6679771
Iteration 6: log pseudolikelihood = -7.6565625
Iteration 7: log pseudolikelihood = -7.6551222
Iteration 8: log pseudolikelihood = -7.6548568
Iteration 9: log pseudolikelihood = -7.6548026
Iteration 10: log pseudolikelihood = -7.6547921
Iteration 11: log pseudolikelihood = -7.6547902
Iteration 12: log pseudolikelihood = -7.6547899
```

```
Probit regression                               Number of obs   =       101
                                                Wald chi2(10)   =      123.81
                                                Prob > chi2     =       0.0000
Log pseudolikelihood = -7.6547899              Pseudo R2      =       0.4332
```

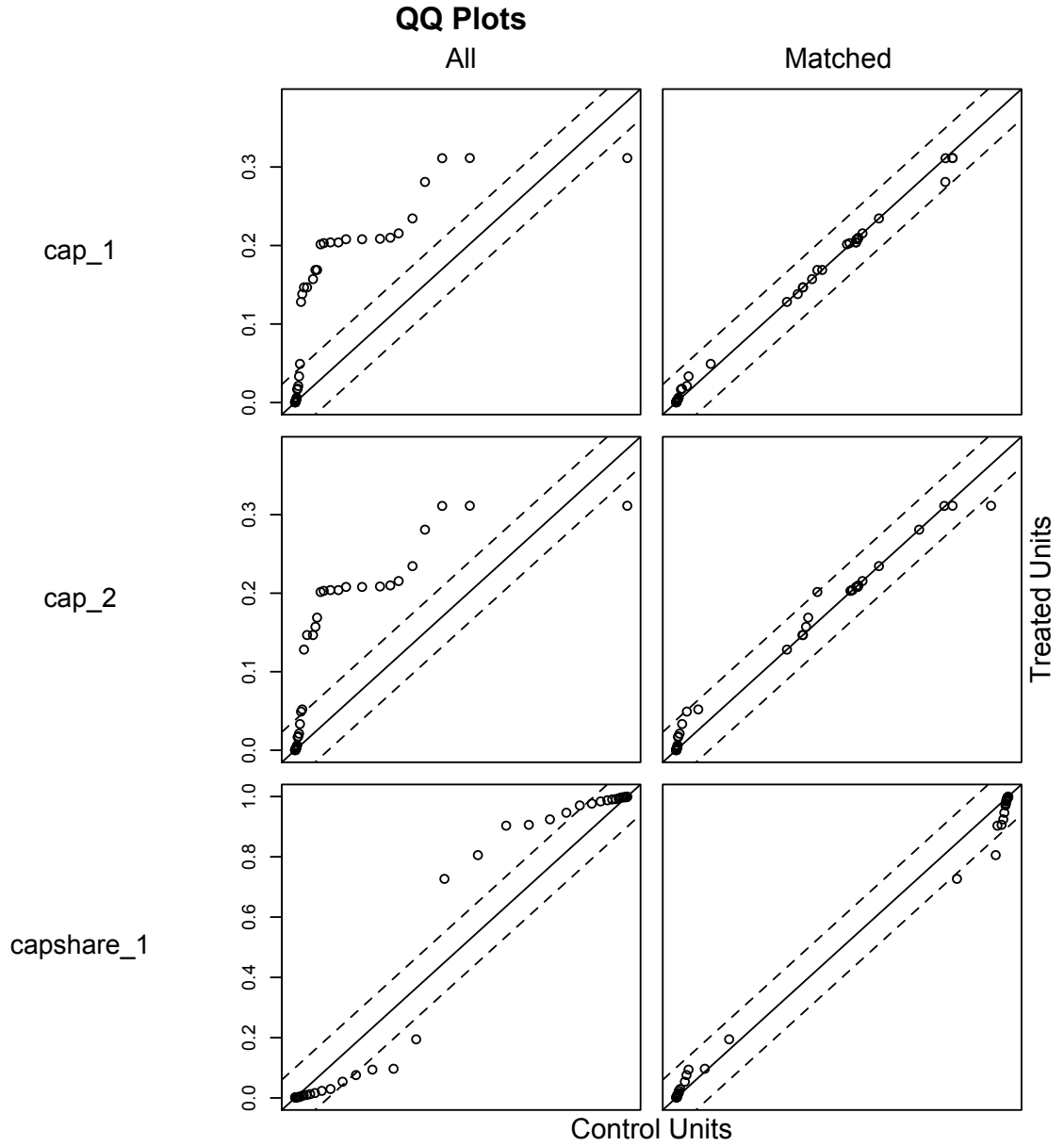
(Std. Err. adjusted for 87 clusters in dyad_id)

	Coef.	Robust Std. Err.	z	P> z	[95% Conf. Interval]	
cwinit10						
covfirmsucc	.5334196	.7793925	0.68	0.494	-.9941617	2.061001
cap_1	-38.10001	12.51943	-3.04	0.002	-62.63764	-13.56238
cap_2	17.24967	7.466637	2.31	0.021	2.615329	31.88401
capshare_1	-3.636748	2.322017	-1.57	0.117	-8.187818	.9143227
s_wt_glo	1.78551	2.551755	0.70	0.484	-3.215837	6.786858
s_ld_1	2.766999	2.478606	1.12	0.264	-2.09098	7.624978
s_ld_2	-4.491436	2.502777	-1.79	0.073	-9.396789	.4139176
lndistance	-.0750242	.6097796	-0.12	0.902	-1.27017	1.120122
democracy1	-6.811301	1.476272	-4.61	0.000	-9.70474	-3.917862
democracy2	-16.32332	3.706891	-4.40	0.000	-23.5887	-9.057951
_cons	13.71479	7.655091	1.79	0.073	-1.28891	28.7185

Note: 34 failures and 0 successes completely determined.

Sample sizes:

	Control	Treated
All	173732	40
Matched	40	40
Unmatched	173692	0
Discarded	0	0

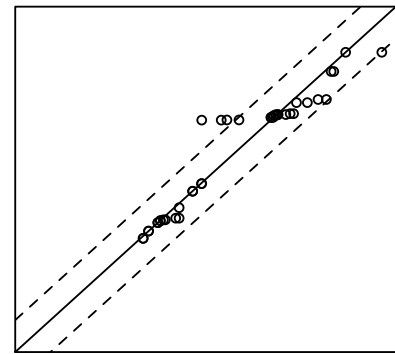
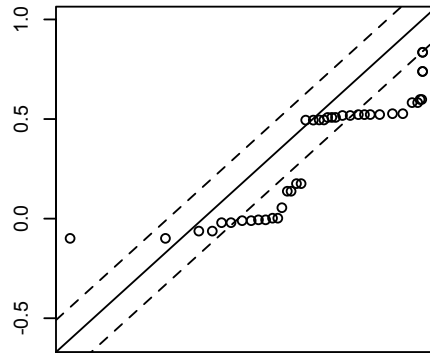


QQ Plots

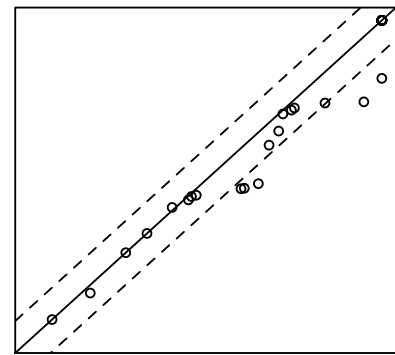
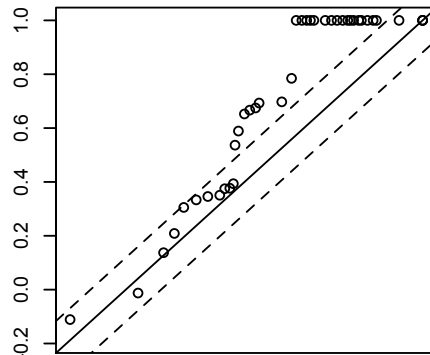
All

Matched

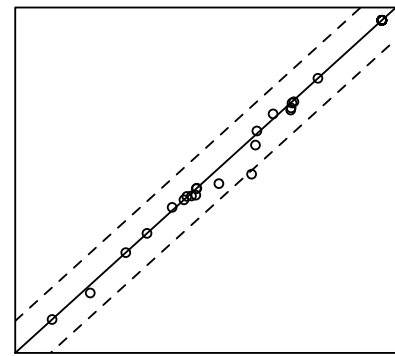
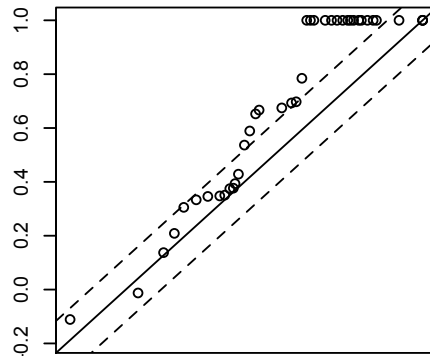
s_wt_glo



s_ld_1



s_ld_2



Treated Units

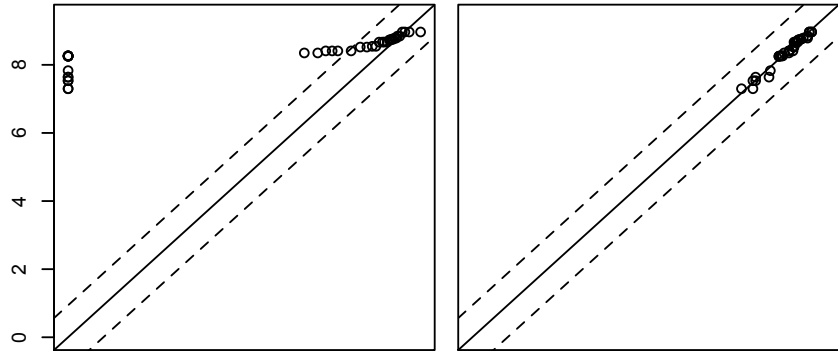
Control Units

QQ Plots

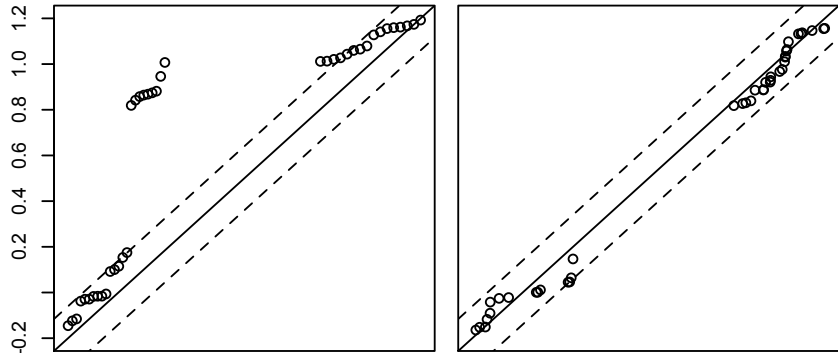
All

Matched

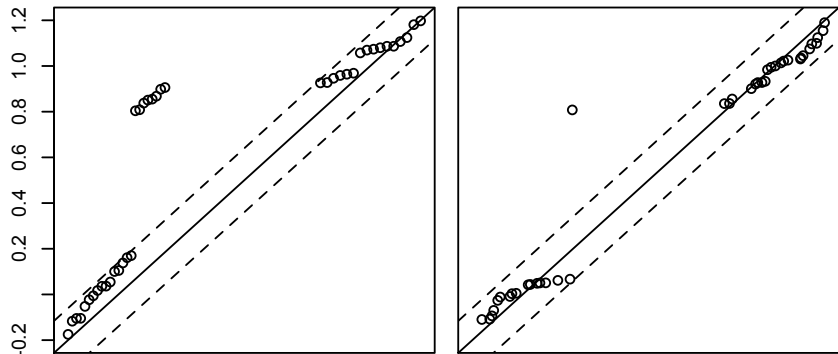
Indistance



democracy1

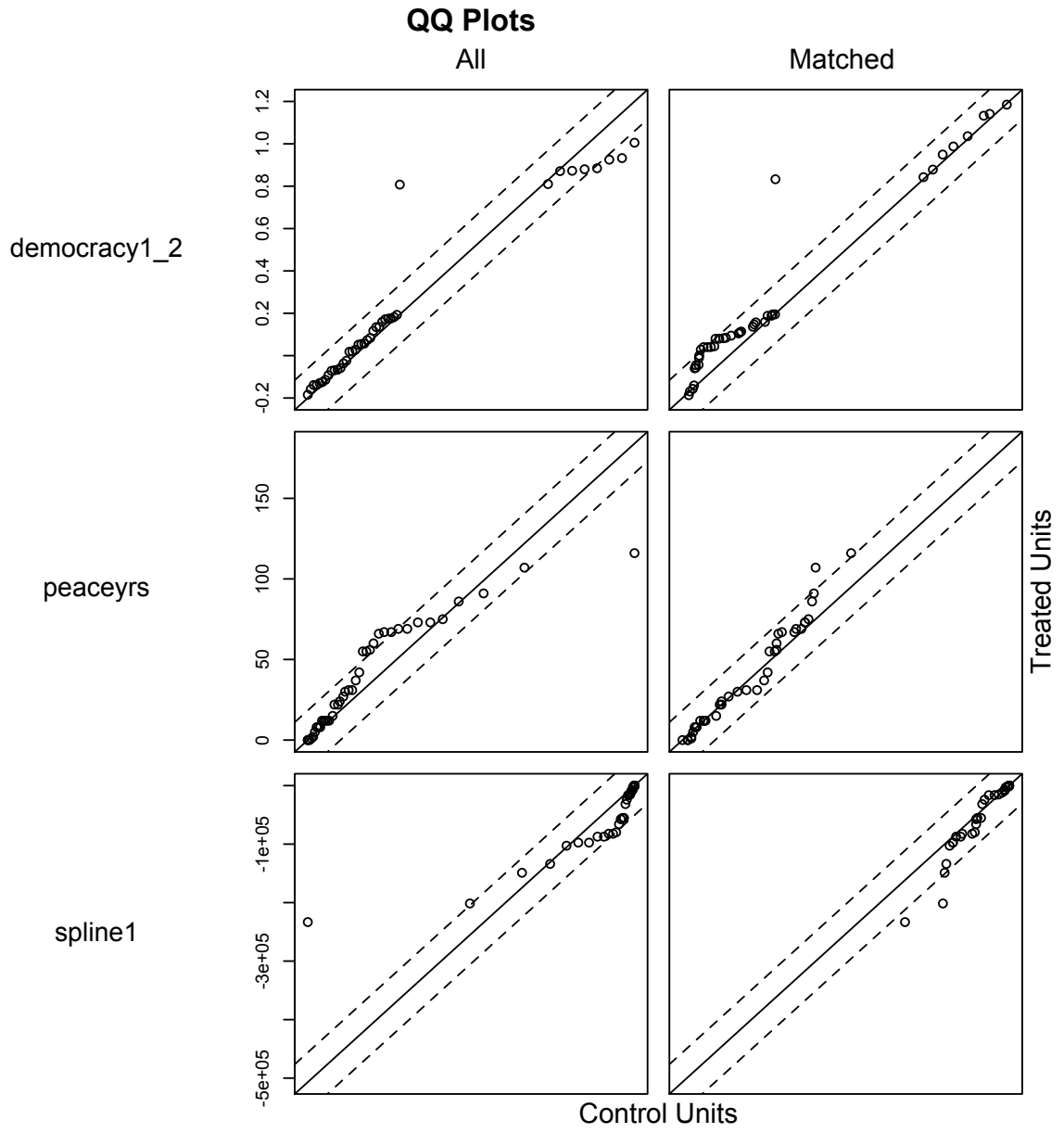


democracy2



Treated Units

Control Units

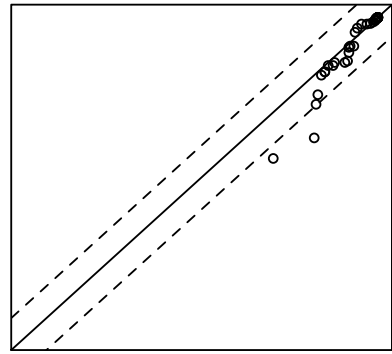
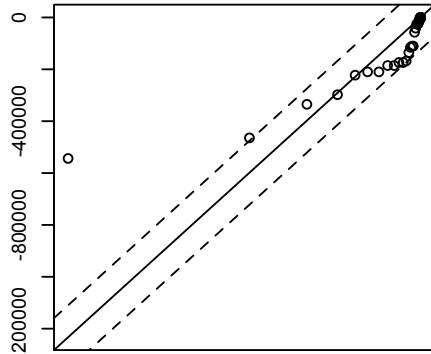


QQ Plots

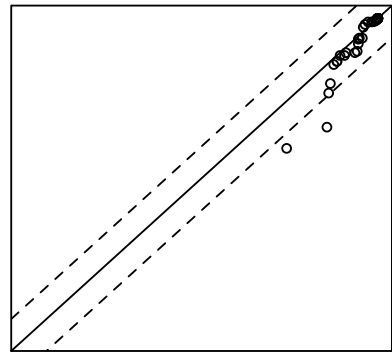
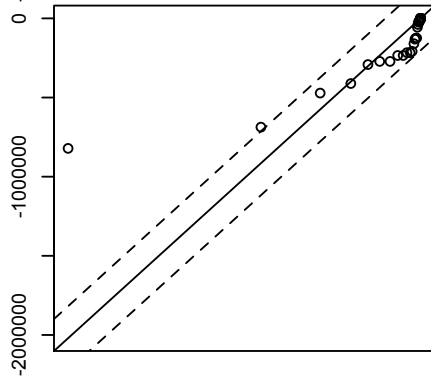
All

Matched

spline2



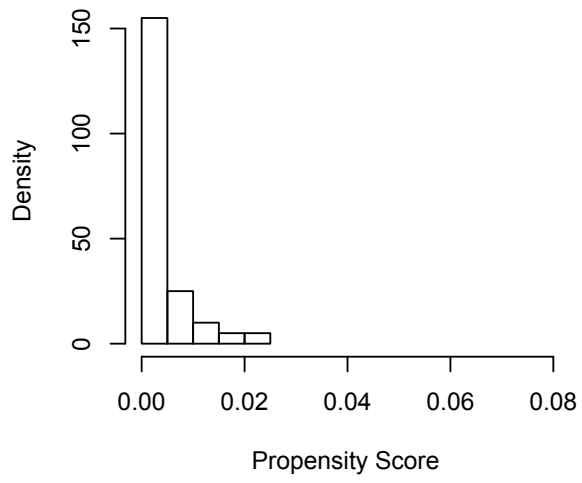
spline3



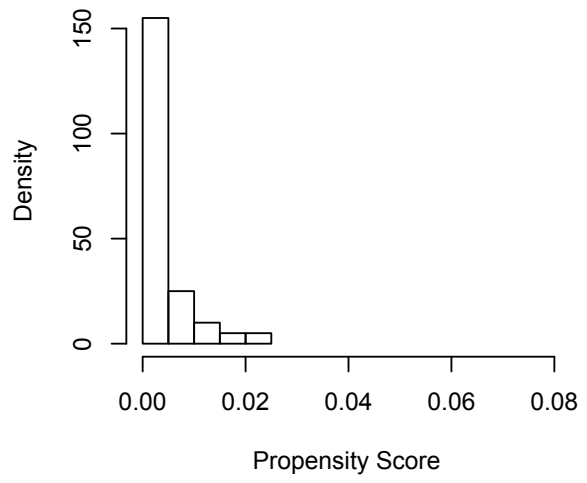
Treated Units

Control Units

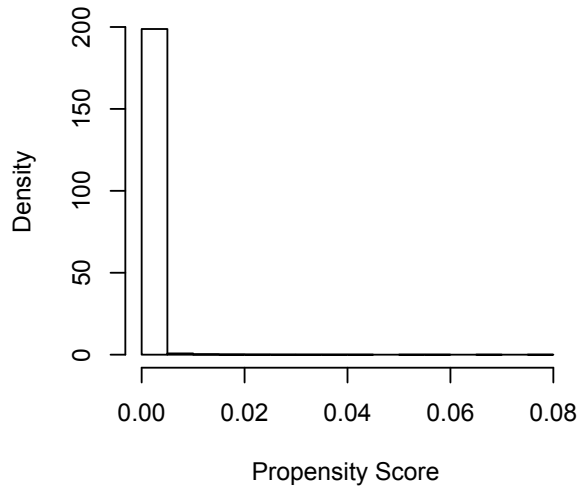
Raw Treated



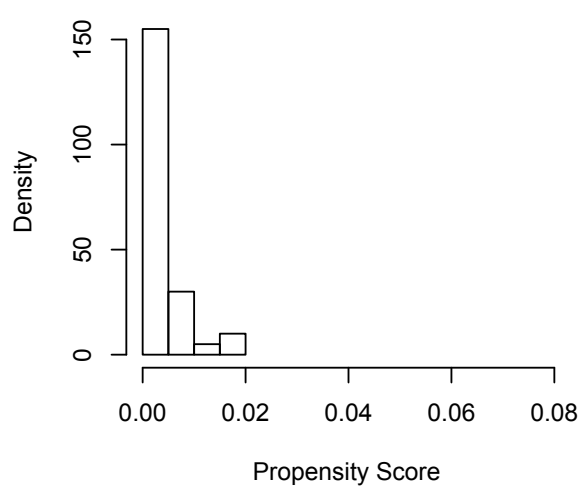
Matched Treated



Raw Control



Matched Control



SUCCESSFUL COVERT LEADERSHIP FIRC: ANALYSIS OF MATCHED DATA

```
use "/Users/abdownes/Dropbox/O'Rourke Downes FIRC Folder/FIRC and MIDs/Data and Analysis/Matching
November 2016/clfircsuccmidgenma
> tchnov16.dta"
(Written by R.            )
```

ttest cwinitl0, by(covleadfircsucc)

Two-sample t test with equal variances

Group	Obs	Mean	Std. Err.	Std. Dev.	[95% Conf. Interval]	
0	40	.05	.0348991	.2207214	-.0205901	.1205901
1	40	.05	.0348991	.2207214	-.0205901	.1205901
combined	80	.05	.0245207	.21932	.0011927	.0988073
diff		0	.0493548		-.0982579	.0982579

diff = mean(0) - mean(1) t = 0.0000
 Ho: diff = 0 degrees of freedom = 78

Ha: diff < 0 Ha: diff != 0 Ha: diff > 0
 Pr(T < t) = 0.5000 Pr(|T| > |t|) = 1.0000 Pr(T > t) = 0.5000

ttest midinit_fatal10, by(covleadfircsucc)

Two-sample t test with equal variances

Group	Obs	Mean	Std. Err.	Std. Dev.	[95% Conf. Interval]	
0	40	.05	.0348991	.2207214	-.0205901	.1205901
1	40	.05	.0348991	.2207214	-.0205901	.1205901
combined	80	.05	.0245207	.21932	.0011927	.0988073
diff		0	.0493548		-.0982579	.0982579

diff = mean(0) - mean(1) t = 0.0000
 Ho: diff = 0 degrees of freedom = 78

Ha: diff < 0 Ha: diff != 0 Ha: diff > 0
 Pr(T < t) = 0.5000 Pr(|T| > |t|) = 1.0000 Pr(T > t) = 0.5000

ttest midinit_war10, by(covleadfircsucc)

Two-sample t test with equal variances

Group	Obs	Mean	Std. Err.	Std. Dev.	[95% Conf. Interval]	
0	40	0	0	0	0	0
1	40	0	0	0	0	0
combined	80	0	0	0	0	0
diff		0	0		0	0

diff = mean(0) - mean(1) t = .
 Ho: diff = 0 degrees of freedom = 78

Ha: diff < 0 Ha: diff != 0 Ha: diff > 0
 Pr(T < t) = . Pr(|T| > |t|) = . Pr(T > t) = .

probit cwinit10 covleadfircsucc cap_1 cap_2 capshare_1 s_wt_glo s_ld_1 s_ld_2 lndistance
democracy1 democracy2, robust cluster(dyad_id)

Iteration 0: log pseudolikelihood = -15.881219
Iteration 1: log pseudolikelihood = -12.894942
Iteration 2: log pseudolikelihood = -12.052654
Iteration 3: log pseudolikelihood = -11.875644
Iteration 4: log pseudolikelihood = -11.85114
Iteration 5: log pseudolikelihood = -11.831537
Iteration 6: log pseudolikelihood = -11.824238
Iteration 7: log pseudolikelihood = -11.82381
Iteration 8: log pseudolikelihood = -11.823748
Iteration 9: log pseudolikelihood = -11.823735
Iteration 10: log pseudolikelihood = -11.823733
Iteration 11: log pseudolikelihood = -11.823732

Probit regression Number of obs = 80
Wald chi2(10) = 147.53
Prob > chi2 = 0.0000
Log pseudolikelihood = -11.823732 Pseudo R2 = 0.2555

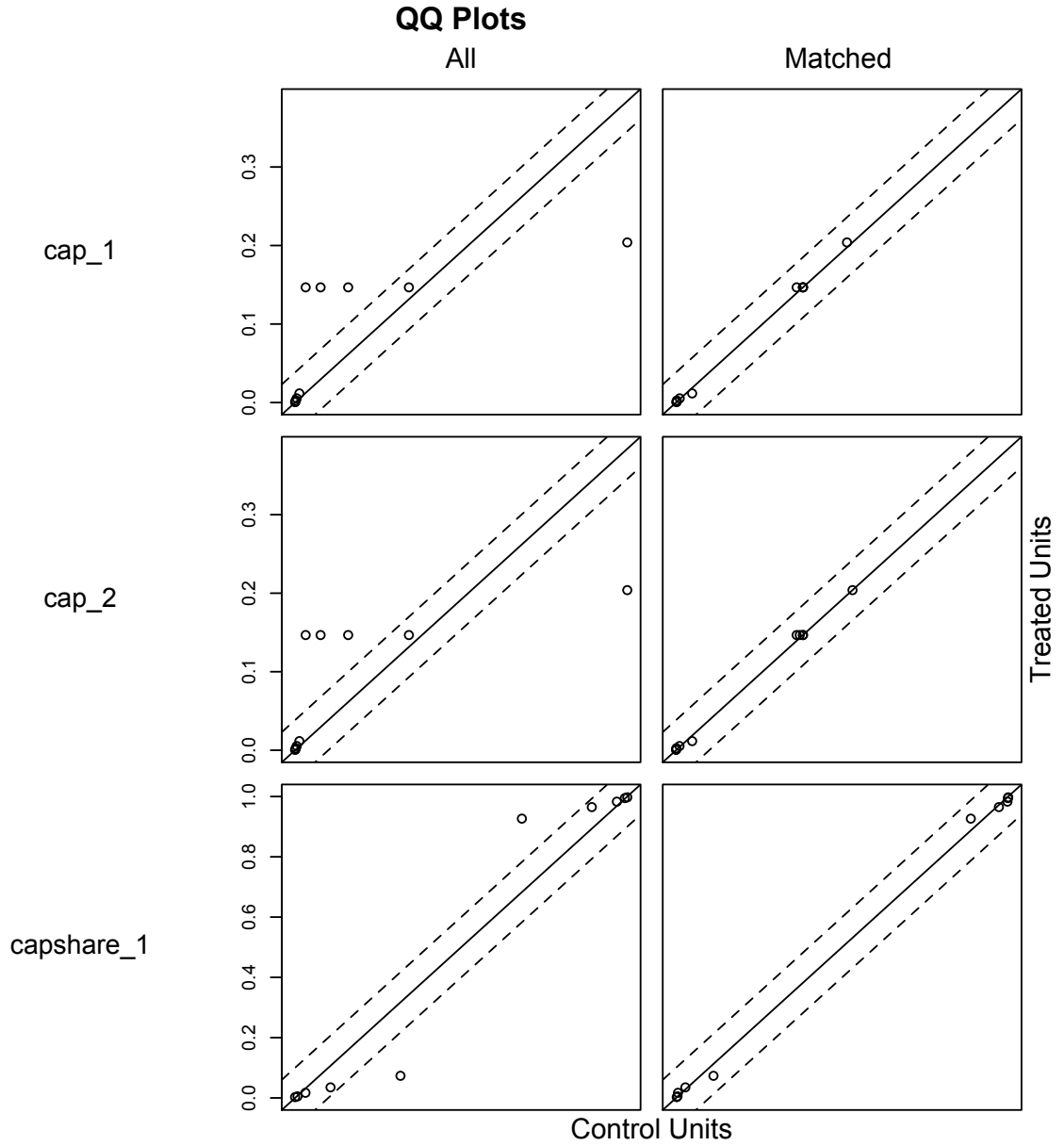
(Std. Err. adjusted for 71 clusters in dyad_id)

cwinit10	Coef.	Robust Std. Err.	z	P> z	[95% Conf. Interval]	
covleadfircsucc	-.0830958	.5008561	-0.17	0.868	-1.064756	.8985641
cap_1	-29.50634	10.0821	-2.93	0.003	-49.26689	-9.745792
cap_2	8.351062	8.570198	0.97	0.330	-8.446218	25.14834
capshare_1	.4736511	19.26073	0.02	0.980	-37.27669	38.22399
s_wt_glo	-.1631751	1.473994	-0.11	0.912	-3.052151	2.725801
s_ld_1	.5424966	2.439773	0.22	0.824	-4.239371	5.324364
s_ld_2	-2.793115	1.774615	-1.57	0.116	-6.271296	.6850668
lndistance	-.3569632	.6065742	-0.59	0.556	-1.545827	.8319004
democracy1	-5.402901	2.363209	-2.29	0.022	-10.0347	-.7710977
democracy2	-9.096544	21.70029	-0.42	0.675	-51.62833	33.43524
_cons	11.73136	16.15325	0.73	0.468	-19.92844	43.39115

Note: 17 failures and 0 successes completely determined.

Sample sizes:

	Control	Treated
All	173732	10
Matched	10	10
Unmatched	173722	0
Discarded	0	0

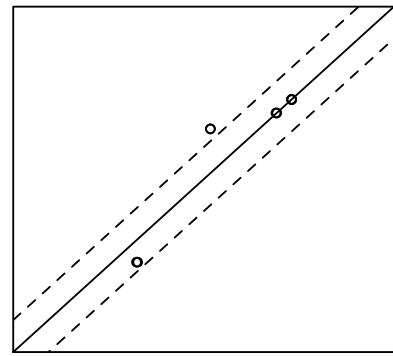
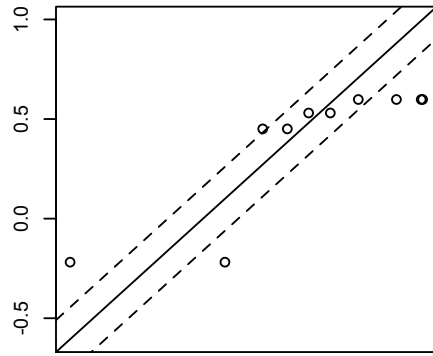


QQ Plots

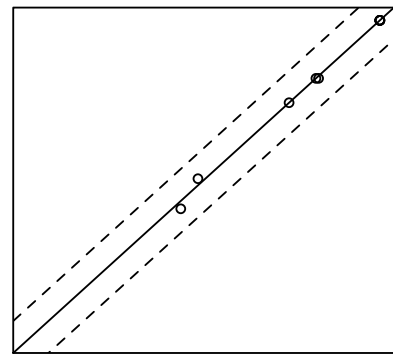
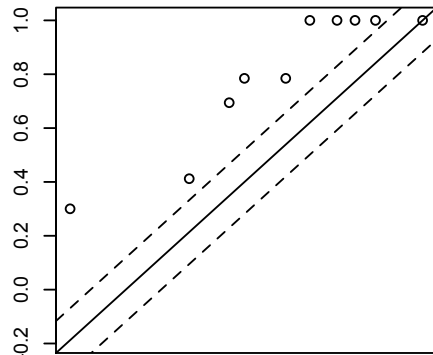
All

Matched

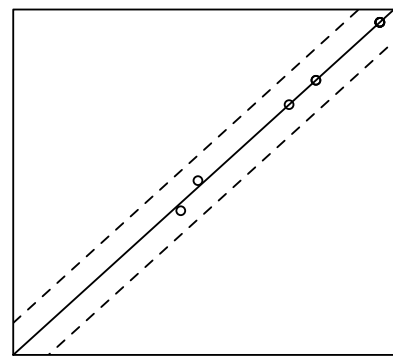
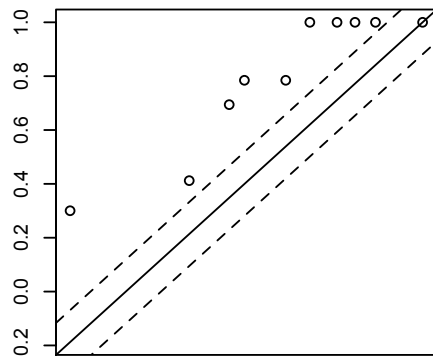
s_wt_glo



s_ld_1



s_ld_2



Treated Units

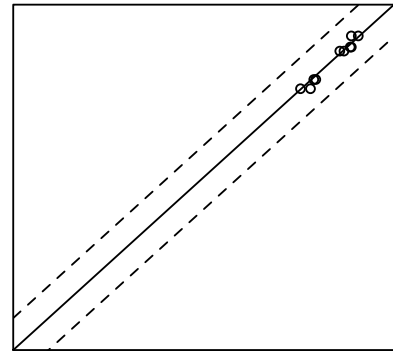
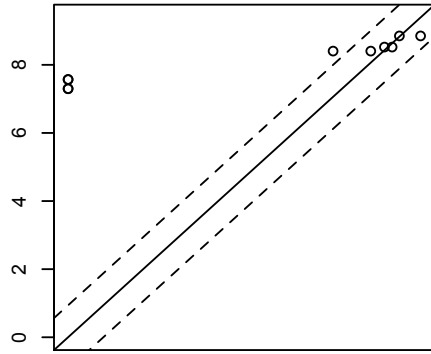
Control Units

QQ Plots

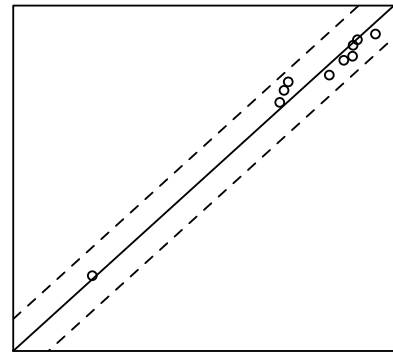
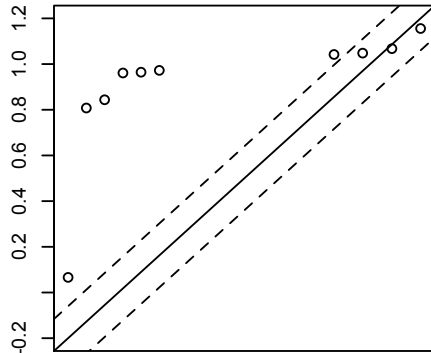
All

Matched

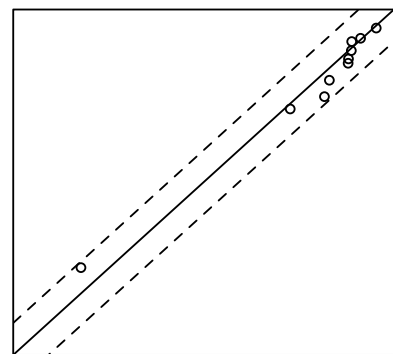
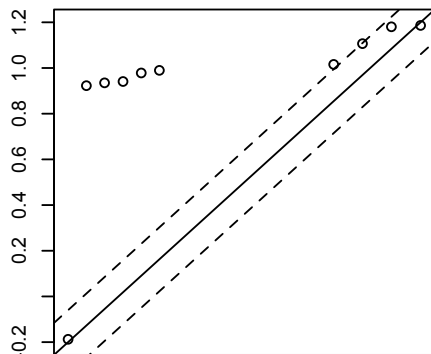
Indistance



democracy1

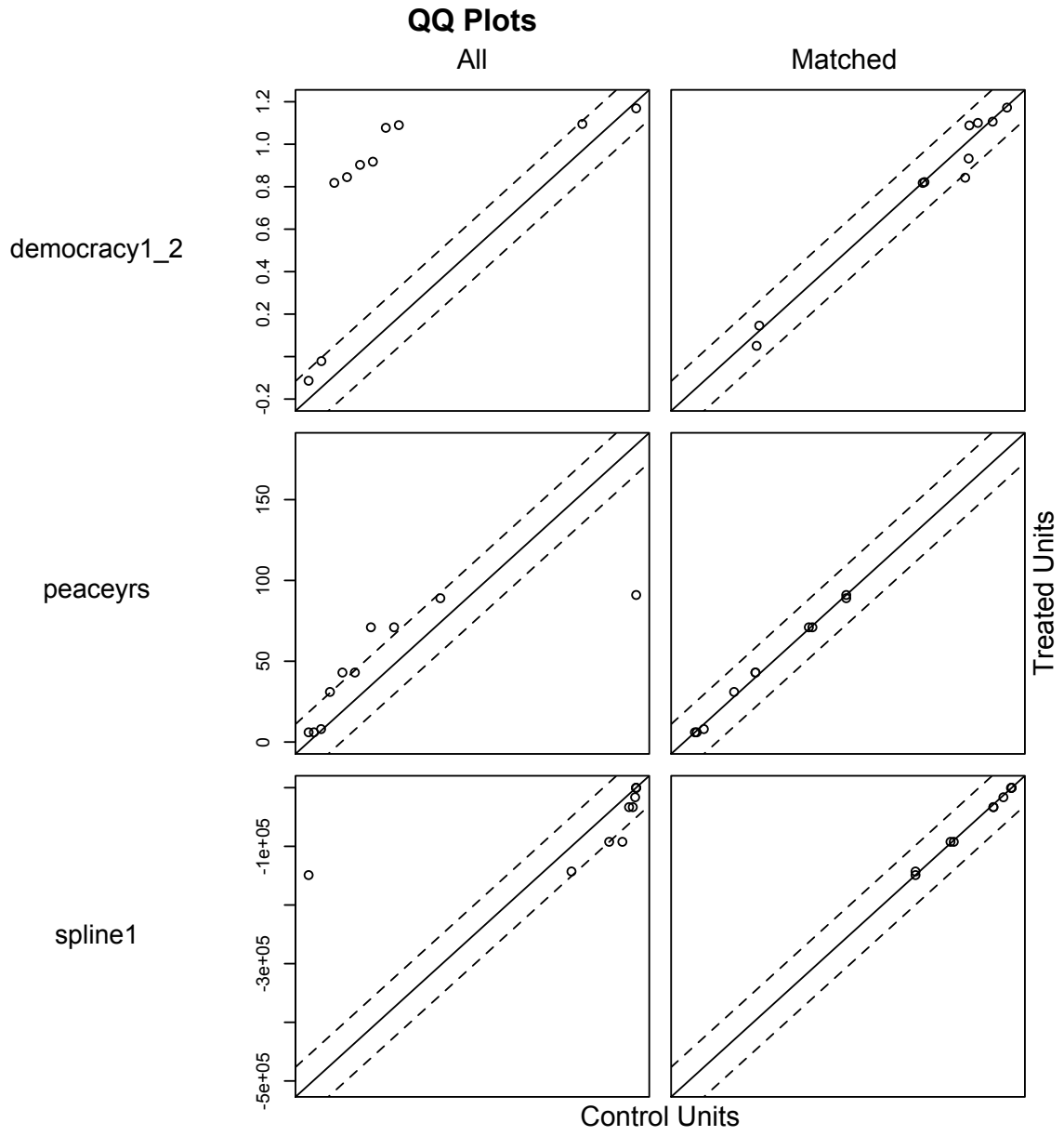


democracy2



Treated Units

Control Units

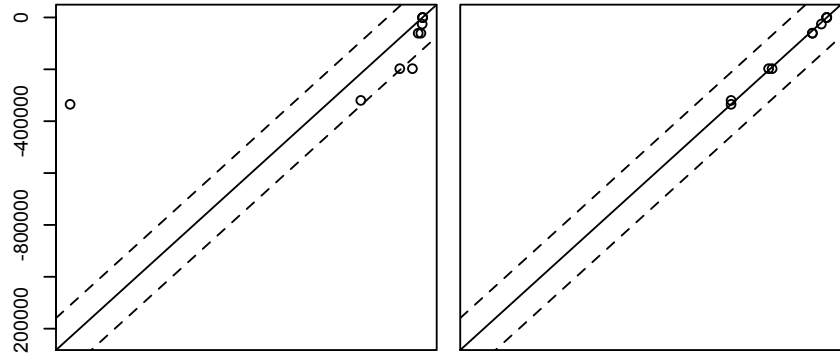


QQ Plots

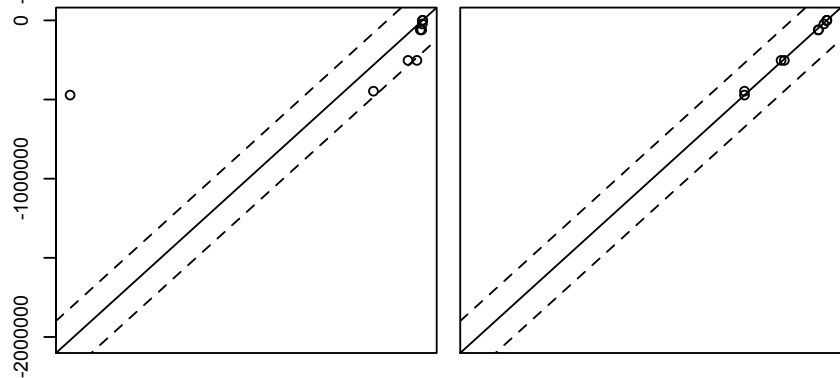
All

Matched

spline2



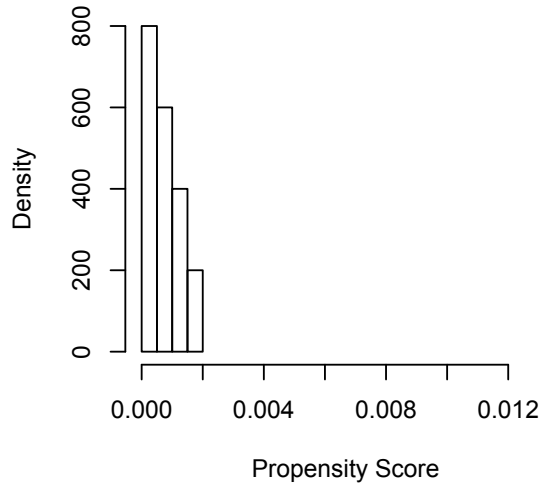
spline3



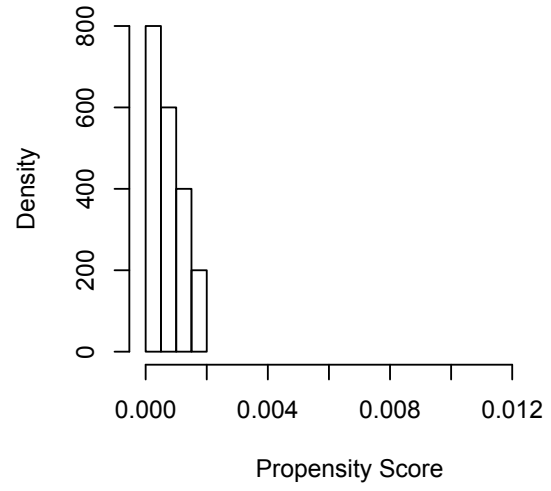
Treated Units

Control Units

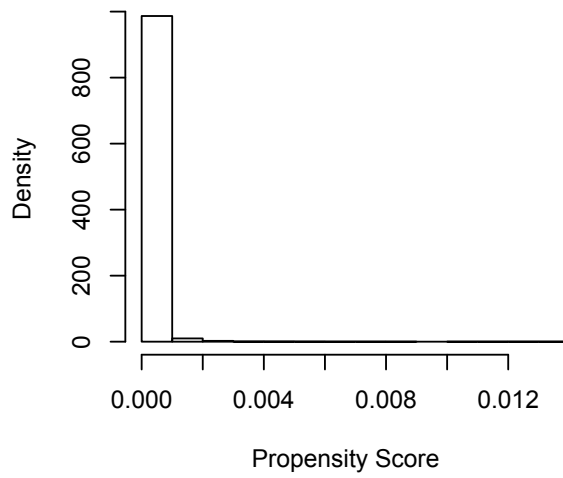
Raw Treated



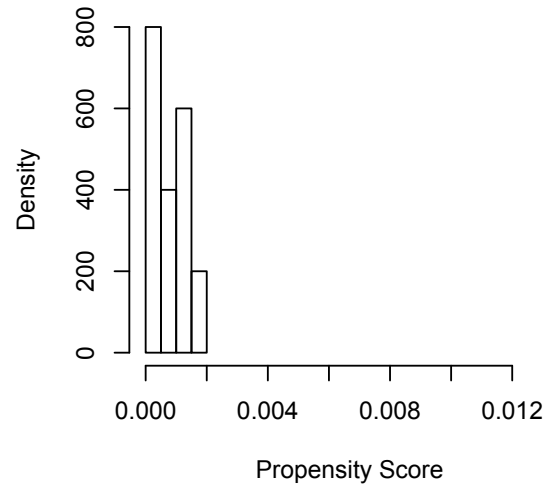
Matched Treated



Raw Control



Matched Control



SUCCESSFUL COVERT INSTITUTIONAL FIRC: ANALYSIS OF MATCHED DATA

ttest cwinitl0, by(covinstfircsucc)

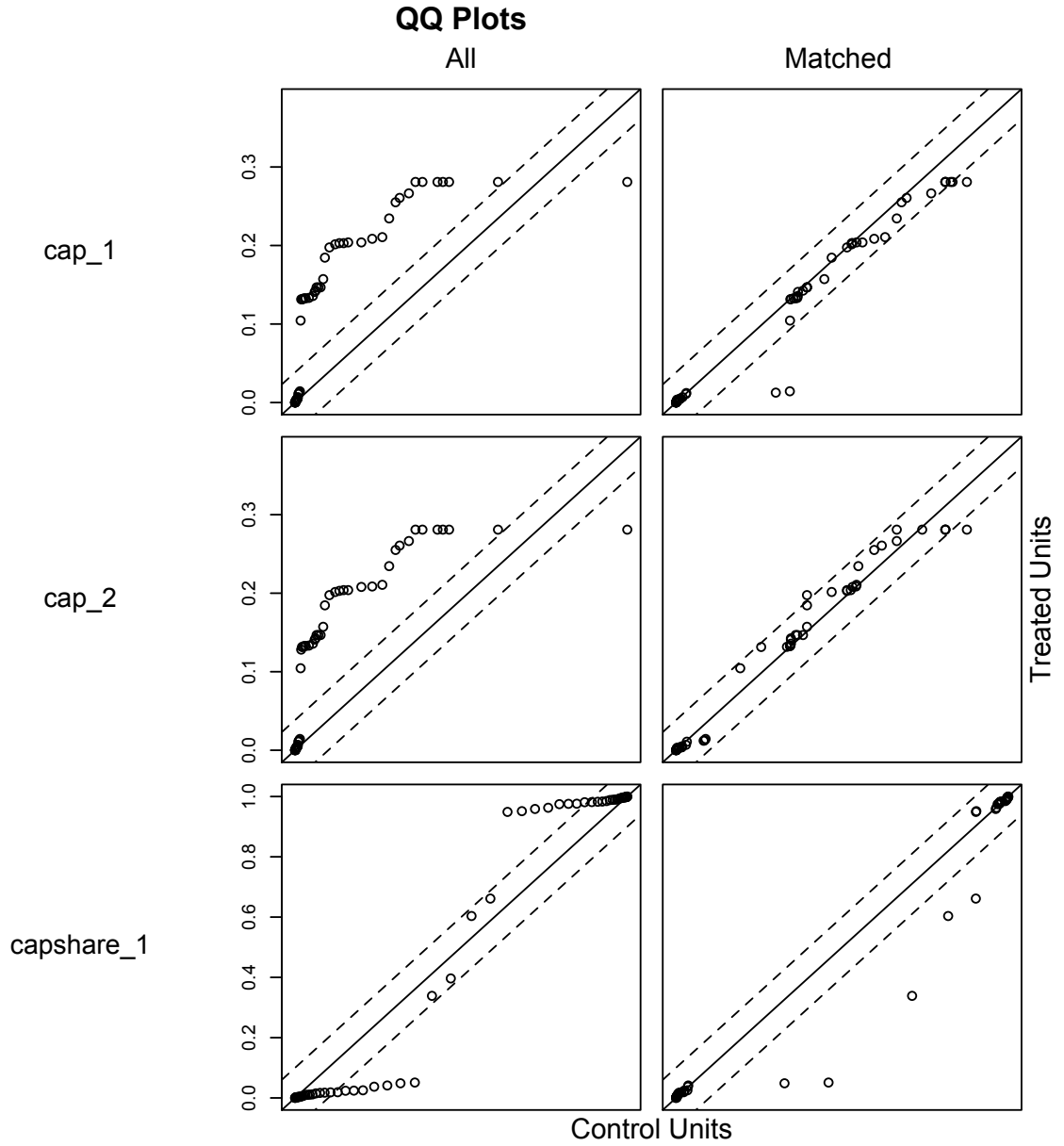
Two-sample t test with equal variances

Group	Obs	Mean	Std. Err.	Std. Dev.	[95% Conf. Interval]
0	10	0	0	0	0
1	10	0	0	0	0
combined	20	0	0	0	0
diff		0	0		0

diff = mean(0) - mean(1) t = .
Ho: diff = 0 degrees of freedom = 18

Ha: diff < 0 Ha: diff != 0 Ha: diff > 0
Pr(T < t) = . Pr(|T| > |t|) = . Pr(T > t) = .

Sample sizes:
 Control Treated
 All 173732 64
 Matched 62 64
 Unmatched 173670 0
 Discarded 0 0

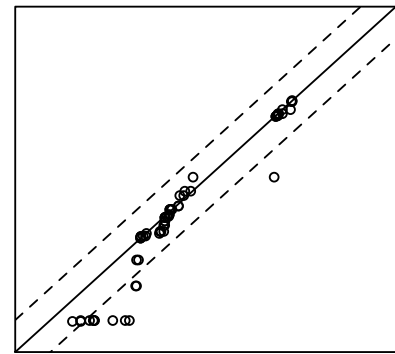
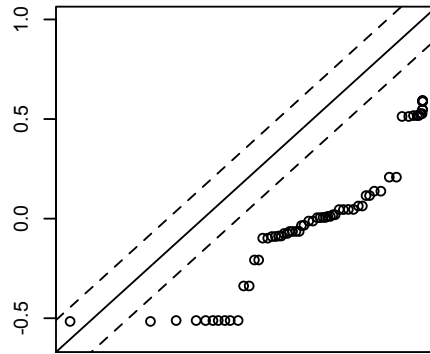


QQ Plots

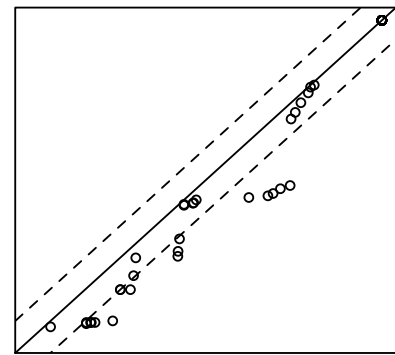
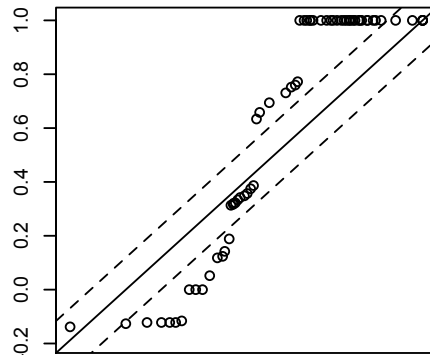
All

Matched

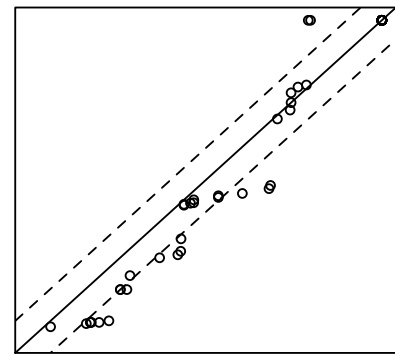
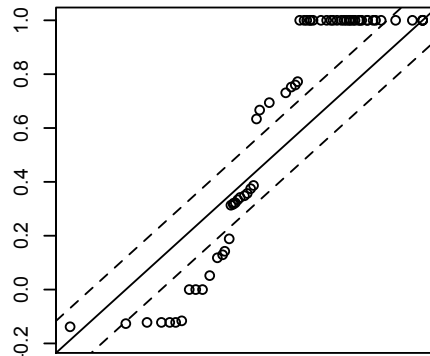
s_wt_glo



s_ld_1

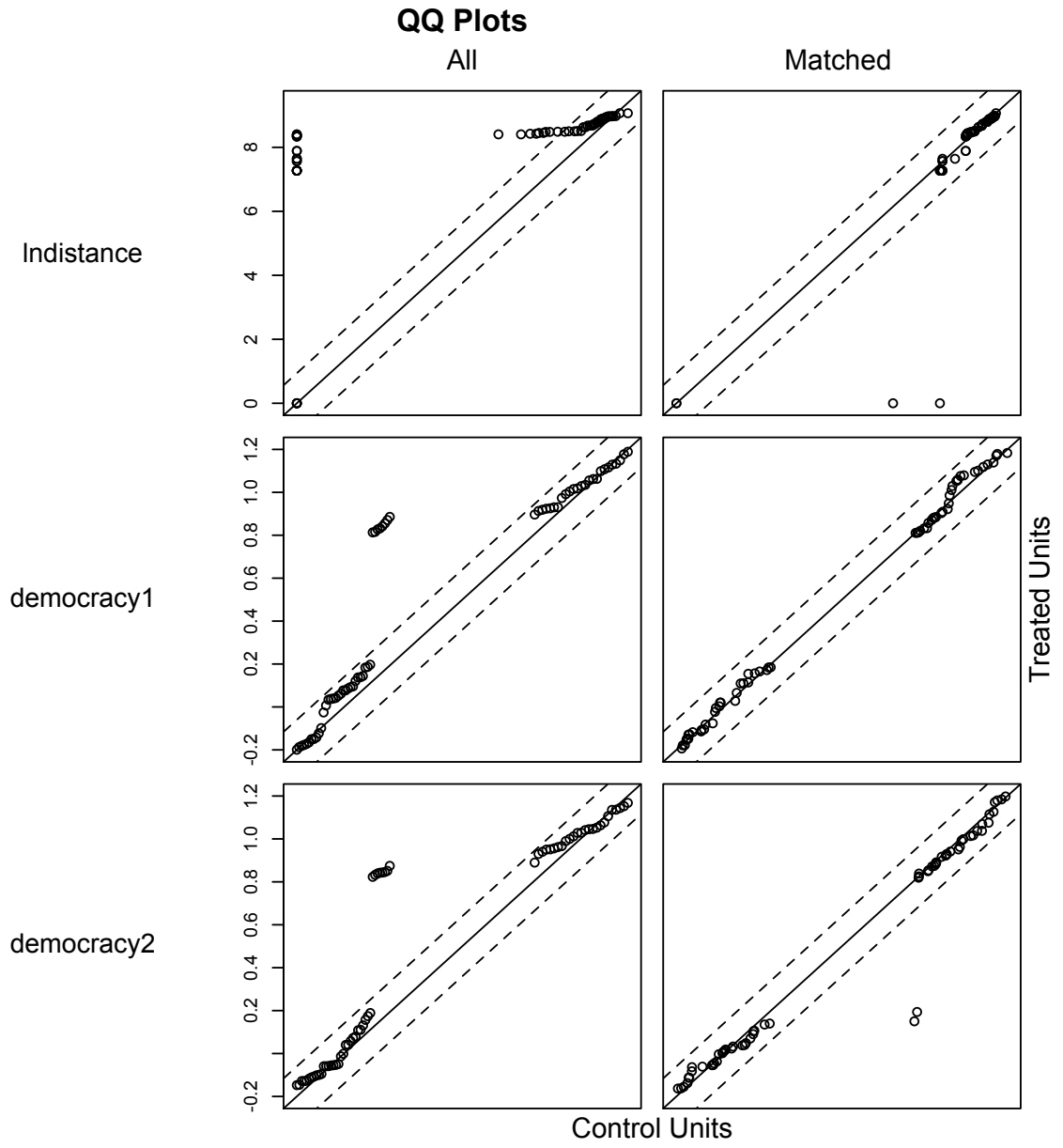


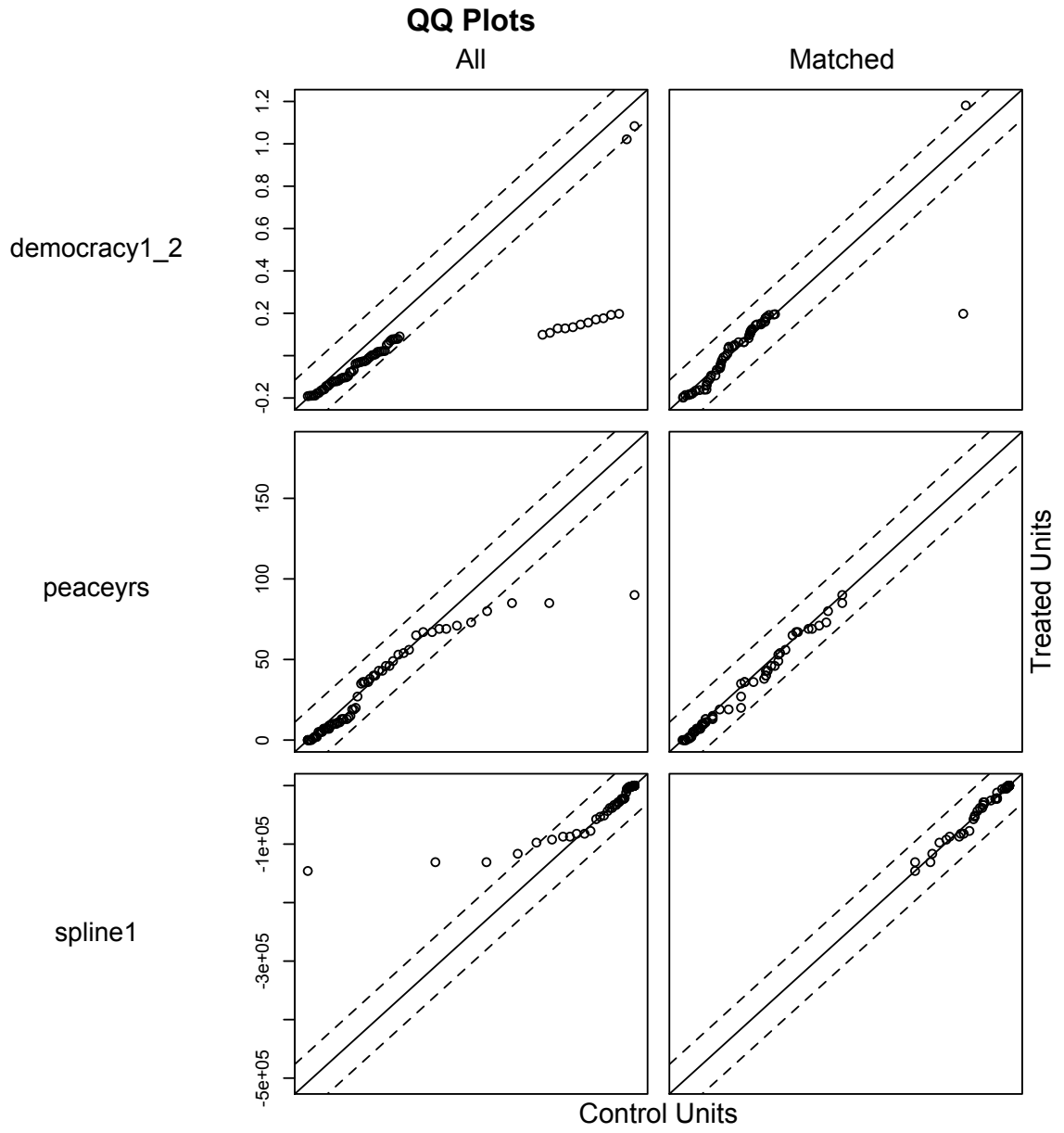
s_ld_2



Treated Units

Control Units



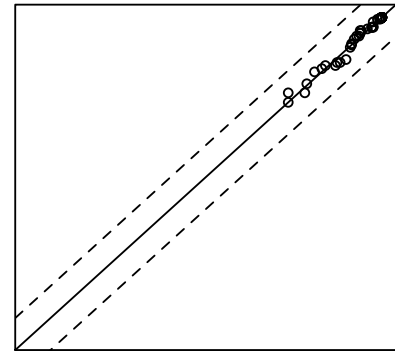
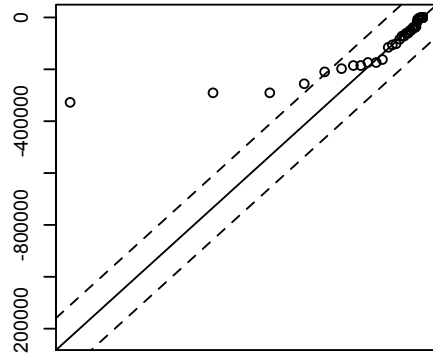


QQ Plots

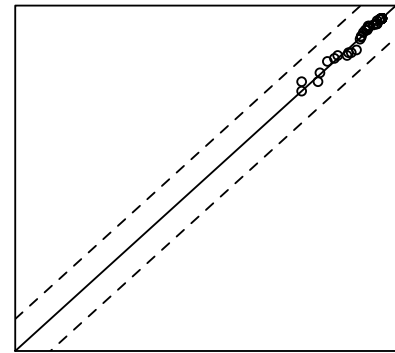
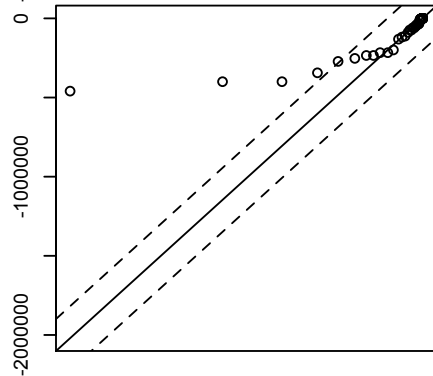
All

Matched

spline2



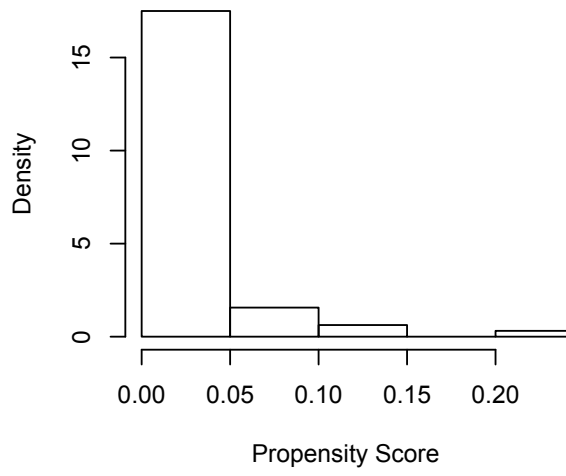
spline3



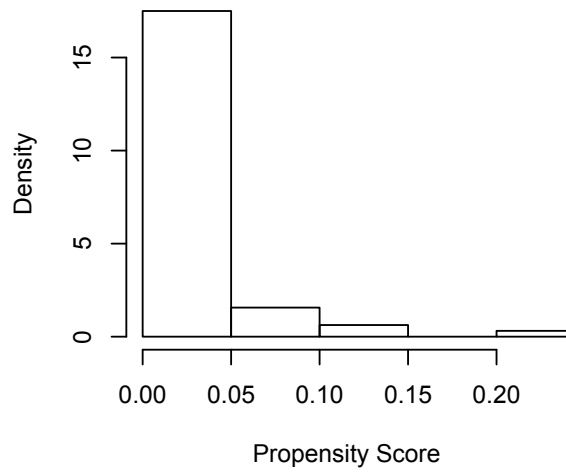
Treated Units

Control Units

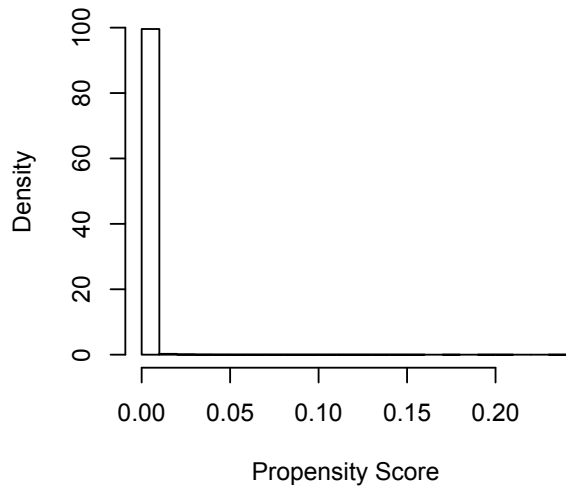
Raw Treated



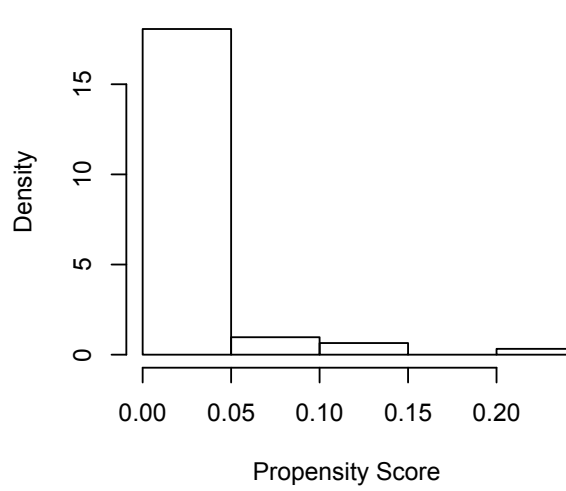
Matched Treated



Raw Control



Matched Control



FAILED COVERT FIRC: ANALYSIS OF MATCHED DATA

use "/Users/abdownes/Dropbox/O'Rourke Downes FIRC Folder/FIRC and MIDs/Data and Analysis/Matching November 2016/covfircfailmidgenmatchnov16.dta"
 (Written by R.)

ttest cwinit10, by(covfircfail)

Two-sample t test with equal variances

Group	Obs	Mean	Std. Err.	Std. Dev.	[95% Conf. Interval]	
0	62	.0483871	.0274745	.2163345	-.0065516	.1033258
1	64	.28125	.0566454	.4531635	.1680531	.3944469
combined	126	.1666667	.0333333	.3741657	.1006959	.2326375
diff		-.2328629	.0635934		-.358732	-.1069938
diff = mean(0) - mean(1)					t = -3.6617	
Ho: diff = 0					degrees of freedom = 124	

Ha: diff < 0 Ha: diff != 0 Ha: diff > 0
 Pr(T < t) = 0.0002 Pr(|T| > |t|) = 0.0004 Pr(T > t) = 0.9998

ttest midinit_fatal10, by(covfircfail)

Two-sample t test with equal variances

Group	Obs	Mean	Std. Err.	Std. Dev.	[95% Conf. Interval]	
0	62	.0322581	.0226222	.178127	-.0129777	.0774939
1	64	.21875	.0520833	.4166667	.1146698	.3228302
combined	126	.1269841	.0297804	.3342844	.068045	.1859233
diff		-.1864919	.0574154		-.300133	-.0728508
diff = mean(0) - mean(1)					t = -3.2481	
Ho: diff = 0					degrees of freedom = 124	

Ha: diff < 0 Ha: diff != 0 Ha: diff > 0
 Pr(T < t) = 0.0007 Pr(|T| > |t|) = 0.0015 Pr(T > t) = 0.9993

ttest midinit_war10, by(covfircfail)

Two-sample t test with equal variances

Group	Obs	Mean	Std. Err.	Std. Dev.	[95% Conf. Interval]	
0	62	0	0	0	0	0
1	64	.03125	.021921	.1753681	-.0125556	.0750556
combined	126	.015873	.0111789	.1254832	-.0062515	.0379975
diff		-.03125	.0222746		-.0753376	.0128376
diff = mean(0) - mean(1)					t = -1.4029	
Ho: diff = 0					degrees of freedom = 124	

Ha: diff < 0 Ha: diff != 0 Ha: diff > 0
 Pr(T < t) = 0.0816 Pr(|T| > |t|) = 0.1631 Pr(T > t) = 0.9184

probit cwinit10 covfircfail cap_1 cap_2 capshare_1 s_wt_glo s_ld_1 s_ld_2 lndistance democracy1
democracy2, robust cluster(dyad_id)

Iteration 0: log pseudolikelihood = -56.770712
Iteration 1: log pseudolikelihood = -38.915888
Iteration 2: log pseudolikelihood = -37.406495
Iteration 3: log pseudolikelihood = -37.337337
Iteration 4: log pseudolikelihood = -37.327087
Iteration 5: log pseudolikelihood = -37.32601
Iteration 6: log pseudolikelihood = -37.32581
Iteration 7: log pseudolikelihood = -37.32577
Iteration 8: log pseudolikelihood = -37.325761
Iteration 9: log pseudolikelihood = -37.32576

Probit regression Number of obs = 126
Wald chi2(10) = 340.51
Prob > chi2 = 0.0000
Log pseudolikelihood = -37.32576 Pseudo R2 = 0.3425

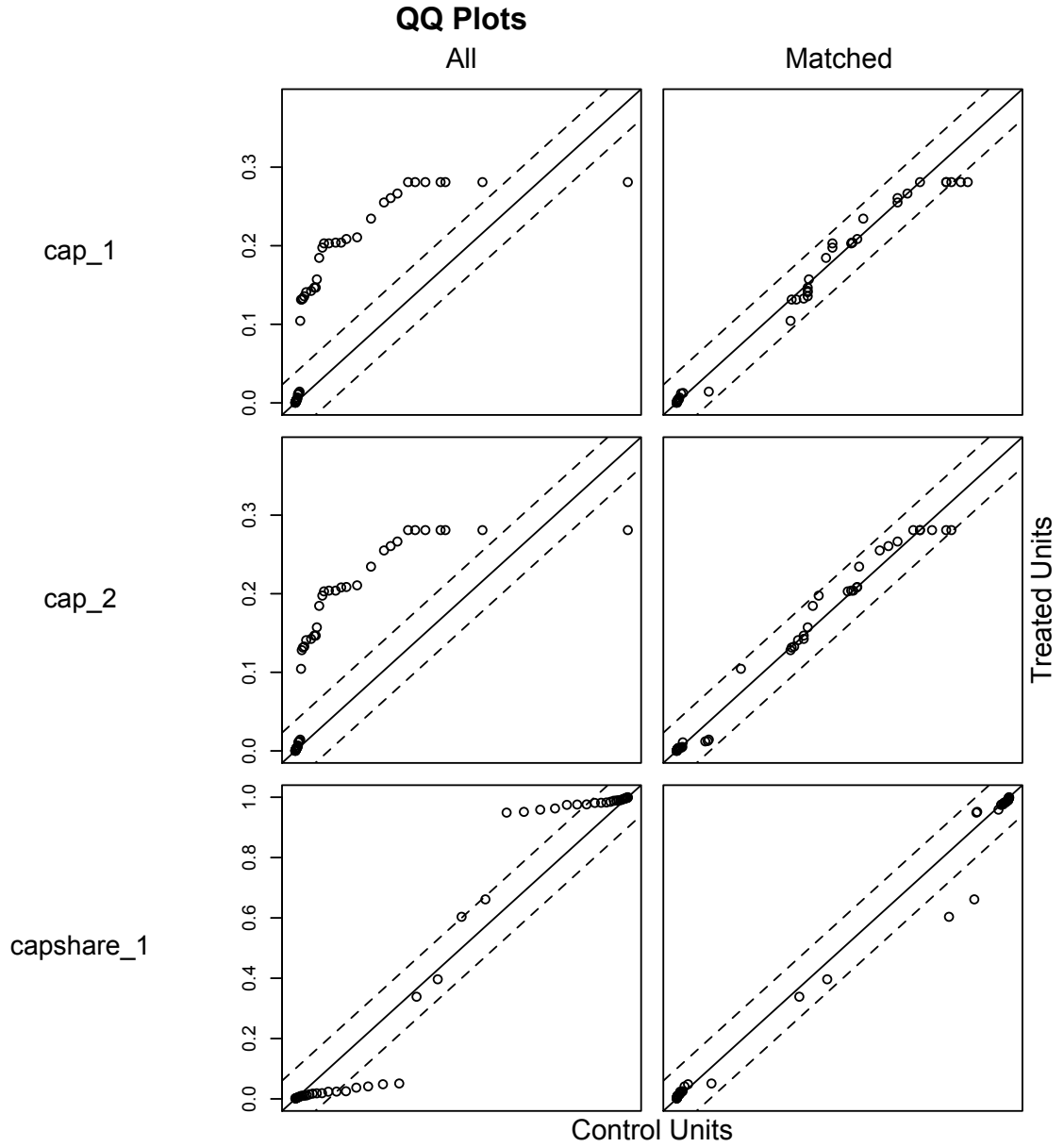
(Std. Err. adjusted for 101 clusters in dyad_id)

cwinit10	Coef.	Robust Std. Err.	z	P> z	[95% Conf. Interval]	
covfircfail	1.610423	.5103454	3.16	0.002	.6101646	2.610682
cap_1	4.237433	4.097589	1.03	0.301	-3.793693	12.26856
cap_2	14.16663	5.933157	2.39	0.017	2.537861	25.79541
capshare_1	2.809854	1.951473	1.44	0.150	-1.014963	6.634672
s_wt_glo	.9764156	.8865218	1.10	0.271	-.7611352	2.713966
s_ld_1	1.173921	1.297907	0.90	0.366	-1.36993	3.717772
s_ld_2	-.3233203	1.119756	-0.29	0.773	-2.518001	1.871361
lndistance	-.1734269	.0720915	-2.41	0.016	-.3147237	-.0321301
democracy1	-5.664342	.7465619	-7.59	0.000	-7.127576	-4.201108
democracy2	-4.375404	.3108094	-14.08	0.000	-4.984579	-3.766229
_cons	.15805	2.247163	0.07	0.944	-4.246309	4.562409

Note: 3 failures and 0 successes completely determined.

Sample sizes:

	Control	Treated
All	173732	53
Matched	48	53
Unmatched	173684	0
Discarded	0	0

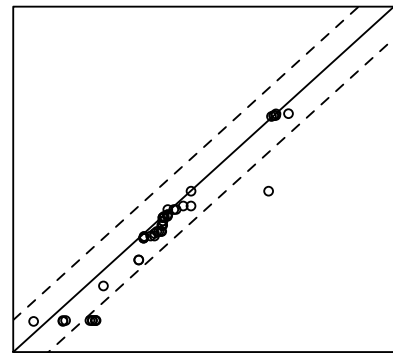
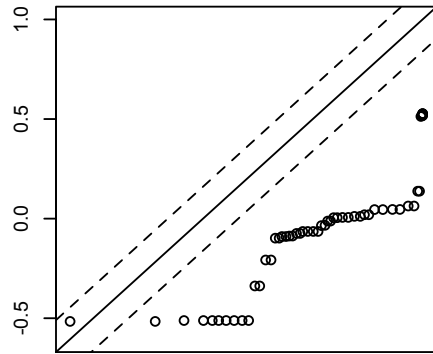


QQ Plots

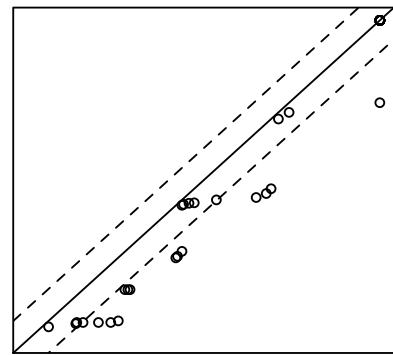
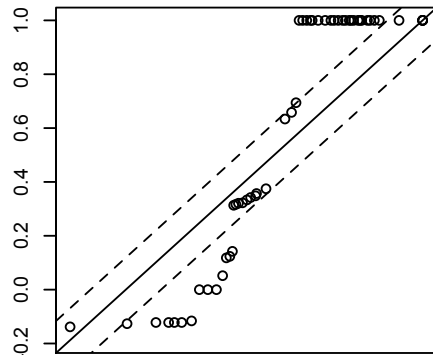
All

Matched

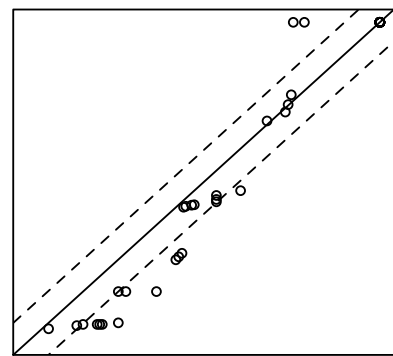
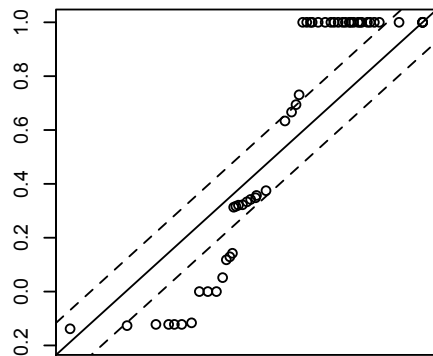
s_wt_glo



s_ld_1



s_ld_2



Treated Units

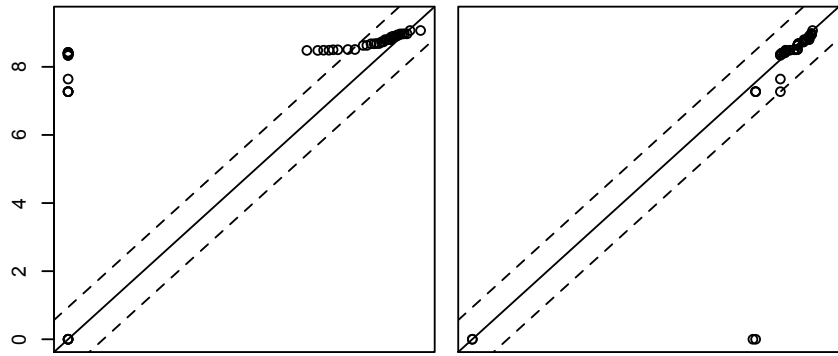
Control Units

QQ Plots

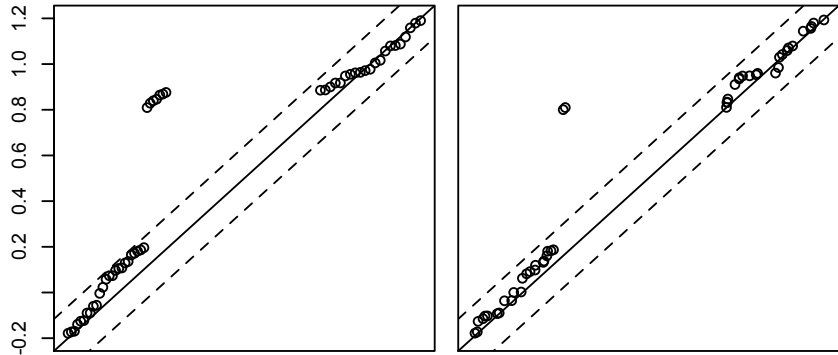
All

Matched

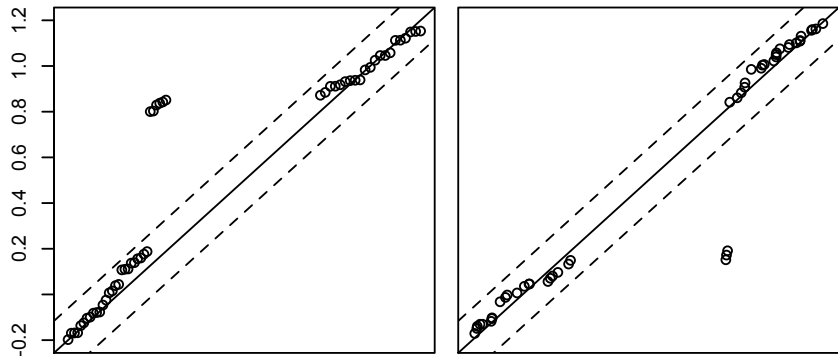
Indistance



democracy1

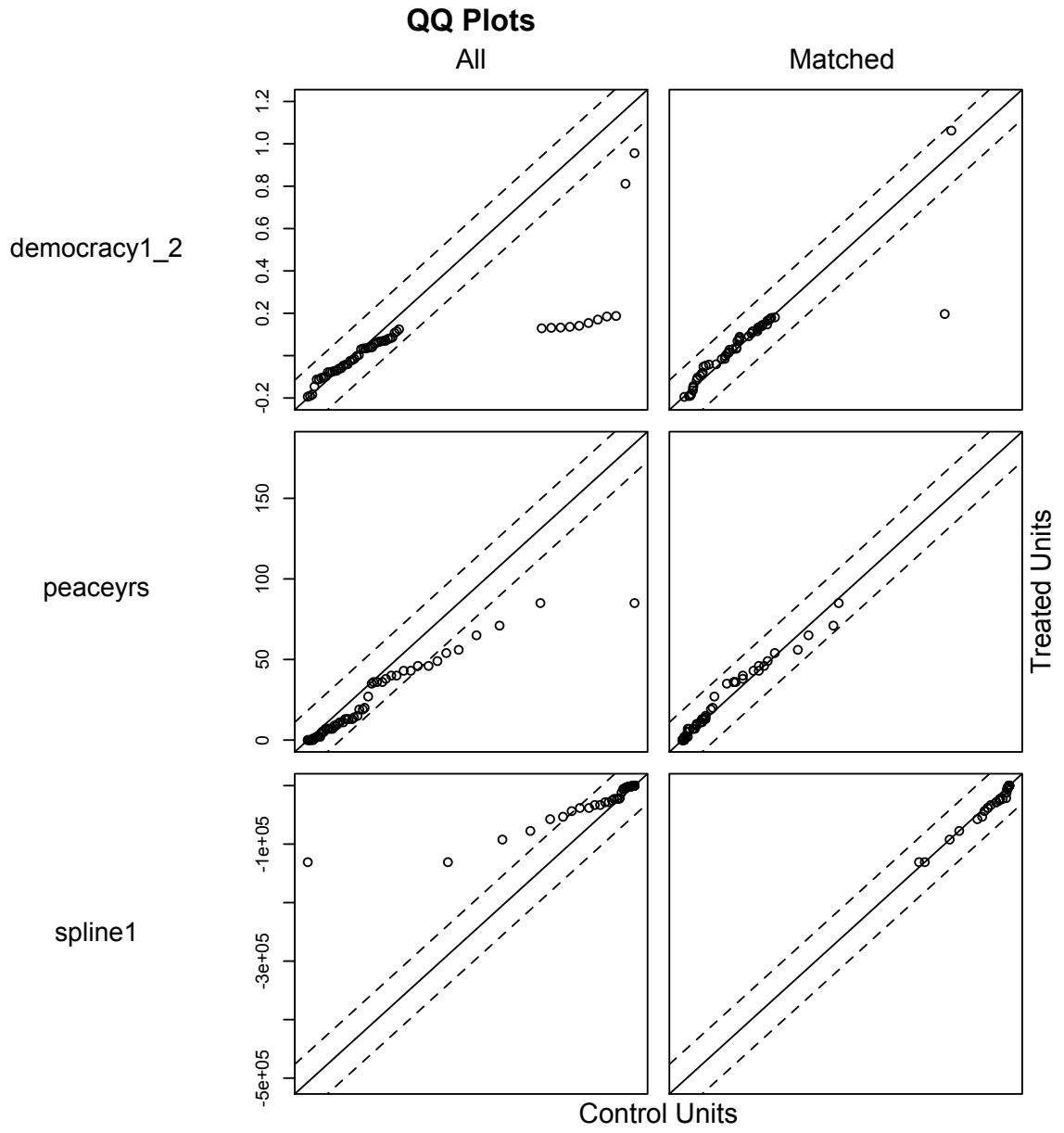


democracy2



Treated Units

Control Units

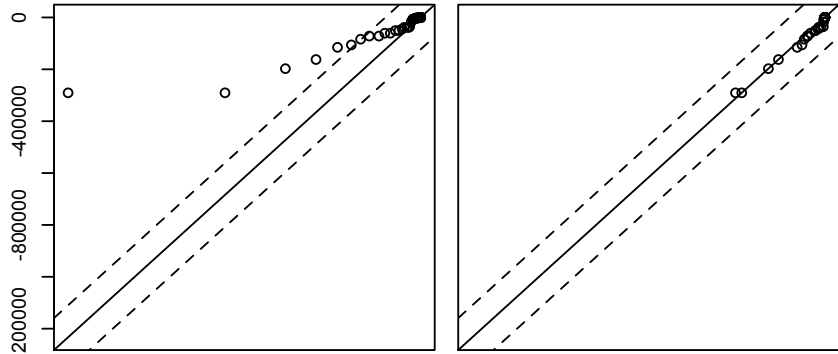


QQ Plots

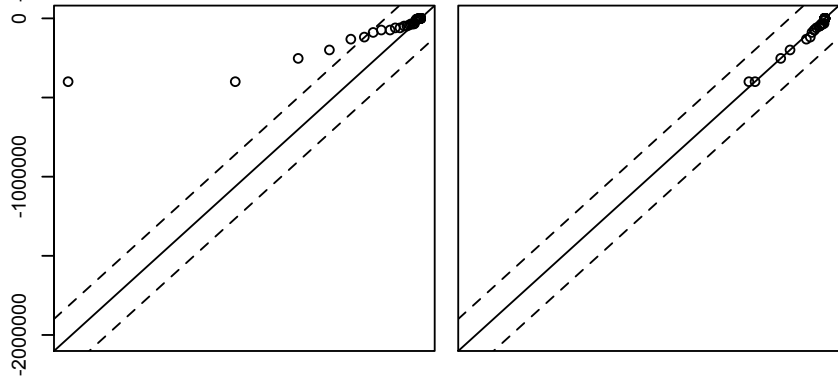
All

Matched

spline2



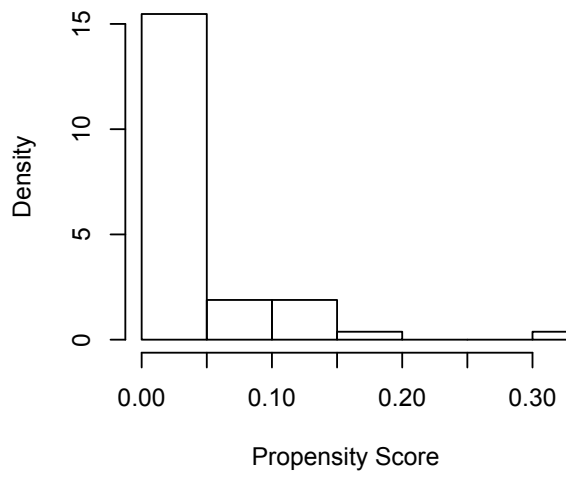
spline3



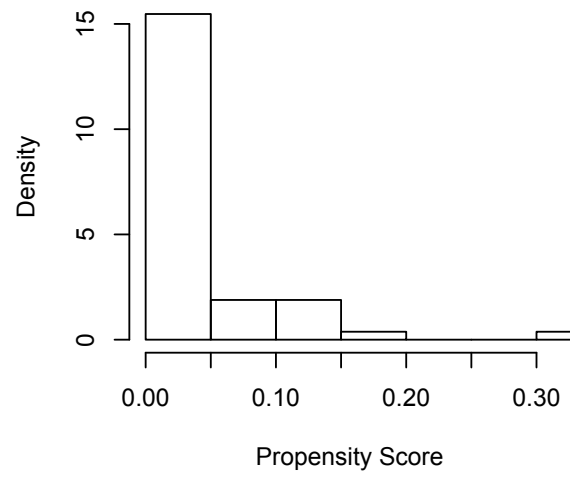
Treated Units

Control Units

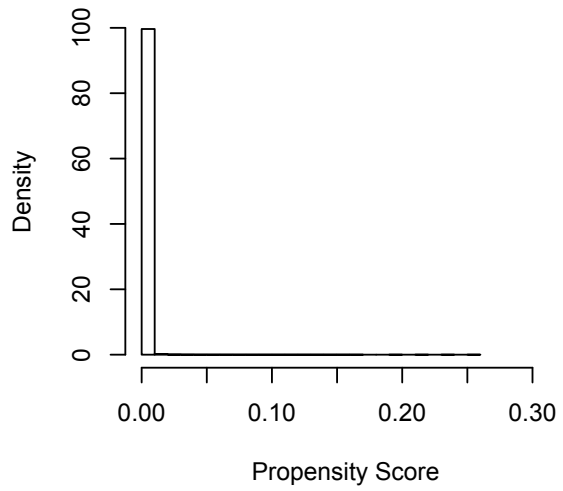
Raw Treated



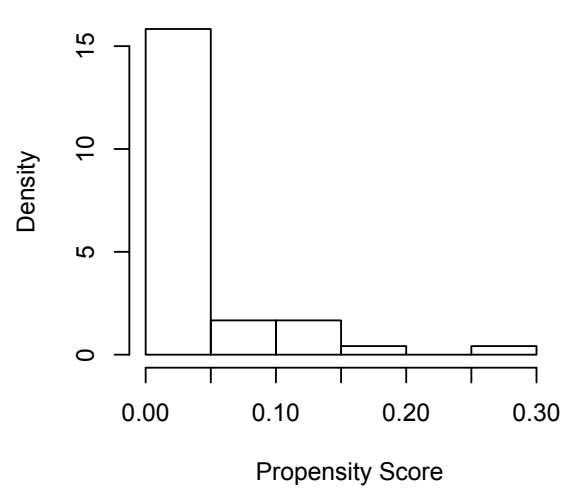
Matched Treated



Raw Control



Matched Control



FAILED COVERT LEADERSHIP FIRC: ANALYSIS OF MATCHED DATA

use "/Users/downes/Dropbox/O'Rourke Downes FIRC Folder/FIRC and MIDs/Data and Analysis/Matching
November 2016/clfircfailmidgenmatchnov16.dta"
(Written by R.)

ttest cwinit10, by(covleadfircfail)

Two-sample t test with equal variances

Group	Obs	Mean	Std. Err.	Std. Dev.	[95% Conf. Interval]	
0	48	.0208333	.0208333	.1443376	-.0210779	.0627446
1	53	.2830189	.0624683	.4547763	.157667	.4083707
combined	101	.1584158	.036513	.3669516	.085975	.2308567
diff		-.2621855	.068597		-.398297	-.1260741
diff = mean(0) - mean(1)					t = -3.8221	
Ho: diff = 0					degrees of freedom = 99	

Ha: diff < 0 Ha: diff != 0 Ha: diff > 0
Pr(T < t) = 0.0001 Pr(|T| > |t|) = 0.0002 Pr(T > t) = 0.9999

ttest midinit_fatal10, by(covleadfircfail)

Two-sample t test with equal variances

Group	Obs	Mean	Std. Err.	Std. Dev.	[95% Conf. Interval]	
0	48	.0208333	.0208333	.1443376	-.0210779	.0627446
1	53	.245283	.0596656	.4343722	.1255552	.3650108
combined	101	.1386139	.0345543	.3472666	.0700591	.2071686
diff		-.2244497	.0657817		-.3549748	-.0939245
diff = mean(0) - mean(1)					t = -3.4120	
Ho: diff = 0					degrees of freedom = 99	

Ha: diff < 0 Ha: diff != 0 Ha: diff > 0
Pr(T < t) = 0.0005 Pr(|T| > |t|) = 0.0009 Pr(T > t) = 0.9995

ttest midinit_war10, by(covleadfircfail)

Two-sample t test with equal variances

Group	Obs	Mean	Std. Err.	Std. Dev.	[95% Conf. Interval]	
0	48	0	0	0	0	0
1	53	.0377358	.0264255	.1923802	-.0152907	.0907624
combined	101	.019802	.0139319	.1400141	-.0078386	.0474425
diff		-.0377358	.0277809		-.0928592	.0173875
diff = mean(0) - mean(1)					t = -1.3583	
Ho: diff = 0					degrees of freedom = 99	

Ha: diff < 0 Ha: diff != 0 Ha: diff > 0
Pr(T < t) = 0.0887 Pr(|T| > |t|) = 0.1774 Pr(T > t) = 0.9113

```
probit cwinit10 covleadfircfail cap_1 cap_2 s_wt_glo s_ld_1 s_ld_2 lndistance democracy1
democracy2, robust cluster(dyad_id)
```

```
Iteration 0: log pseudolikelihood = -44.140396
Iteration 1: log pseudolikelihood = -26.523354
Iteration 2: log pseudolikelihood = -24.084202
Iteration 3: log pseudolikelihood = -23.91313
Iteration 4: log pseudolikelihood = -23.908533
Iteration 5: log pseudolikelihood = -23.907716
Iteration 6: log pseudolikelihood = -23.907558
Iteration 7: log pseudolikelihood = -23.907525
Iteration 8: log pseudolikelihood = -23.907519
Iteration 9: log pseudolikelihood = -23.907518
```

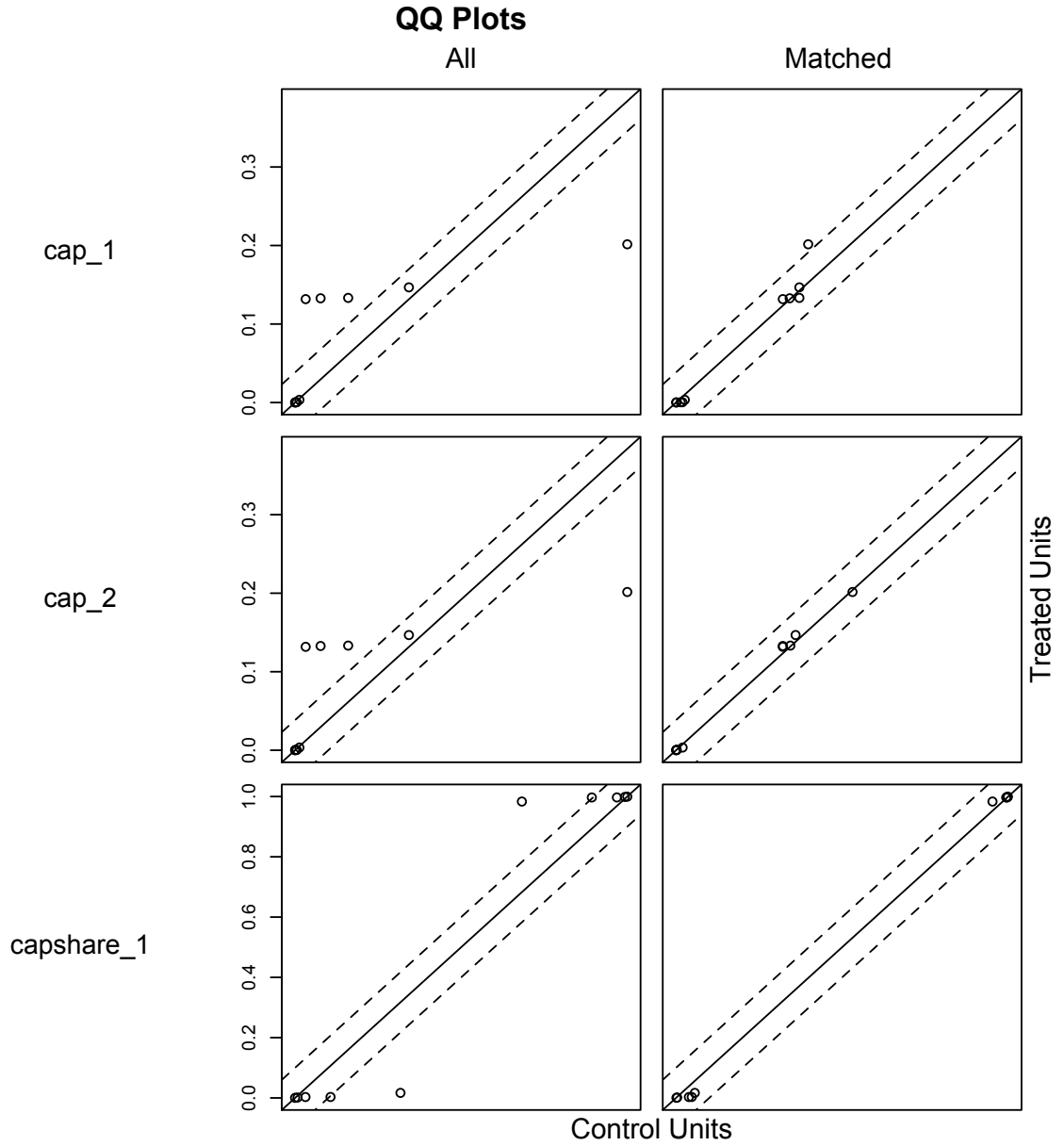
```
Probit regression                               Number of obs   =       101
                                                Wald chi2(9)    =       335.84
                                                Prob > chi2     =       0.0000
Log pseudolikelihood = -23.907518              Pseudo R2      =       0.4584
```

(Std. Err. adjusted for 84 clusters in dyad_id)

cwinit10	Coef.	Robust Std. Err.	z	P> z	[95% Conf. Interval]	
covleadfircfail	2.67761	.7379198	3.63	0.000	1.231314	4.123906
cap_1	13.66868	5.638437	2.42	0.015	2.617544	24.71981
cap_2	9.888502	3.782294	2.61	0.009	2.475342	17.30166
s_wt_glo	.9523802	1.269131	0.75	0.453	-1.535071	3.439831
s_ld_1	-.1195745	1.821447	-0.07	0.948	-3.689546	3.450397
s_ld_2	.3379944	1.907117	0.18	0.859	-3.399887	4.075876
lndistance	-.2436738	.0731787	-3.33	0.001	-.3871015	-.1002461
democracy1	-4.237424	.7874595	-5.38	0.000	-5.780816	-2.694032
democracy2	-4.234749	.5013106	-8.45	0.000	-5.2173	-3.252199
_cons	.0275254	2.862174	0.01	0.992	-5.582232	5.637283

Note: 2 failures and 0 successes completely determined.

Sample sizes:
 Control Treated
 All 173732 10
 Matched 10 10
 Unmatched 173722 0
 Discarded 0 0

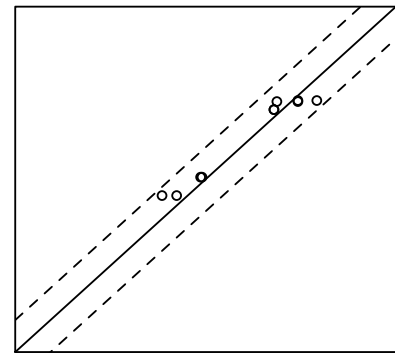
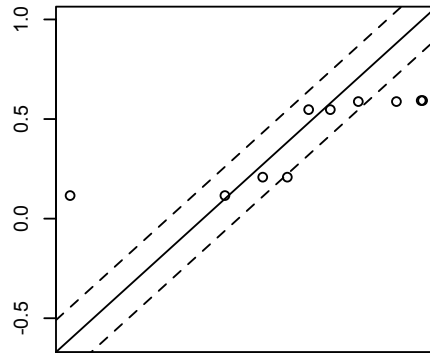


QQ Plots

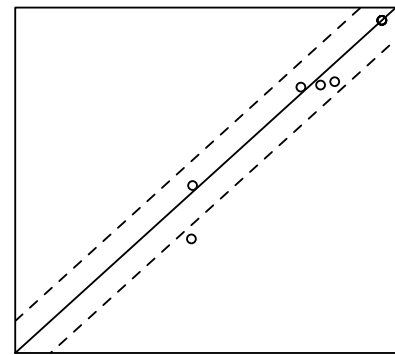
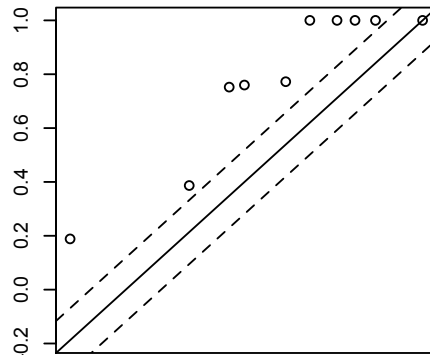
All

Matched

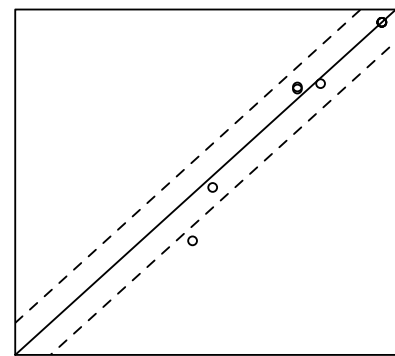
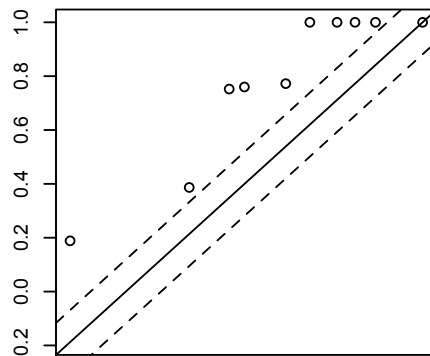
s_wt_glo



s_ld_1



s_ld_2



Treated Units

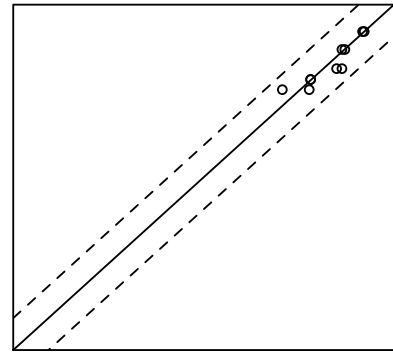
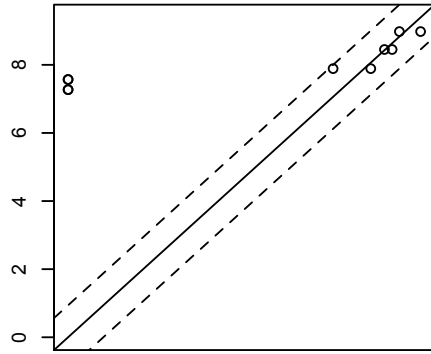
Control Units

QQ Plots

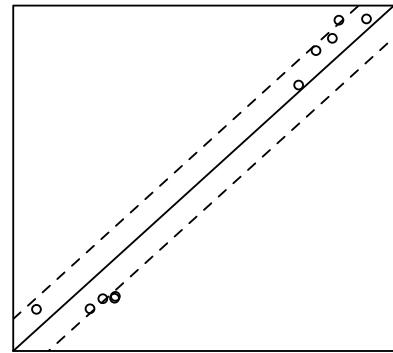
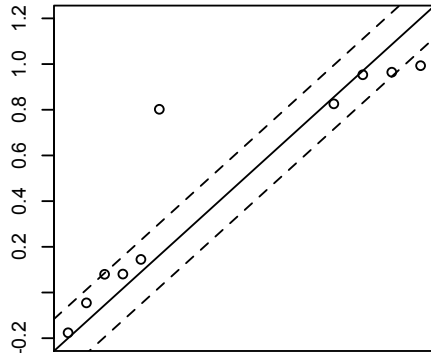
All

Matched

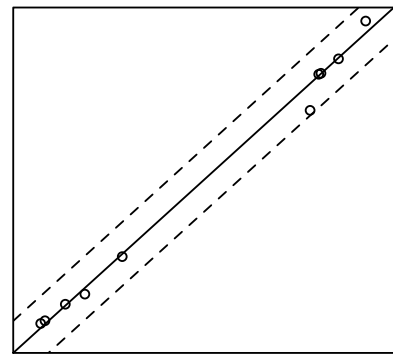
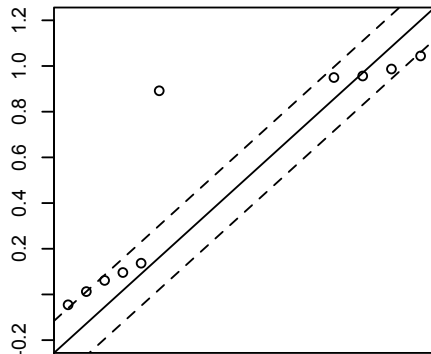
Indistance



democracy1

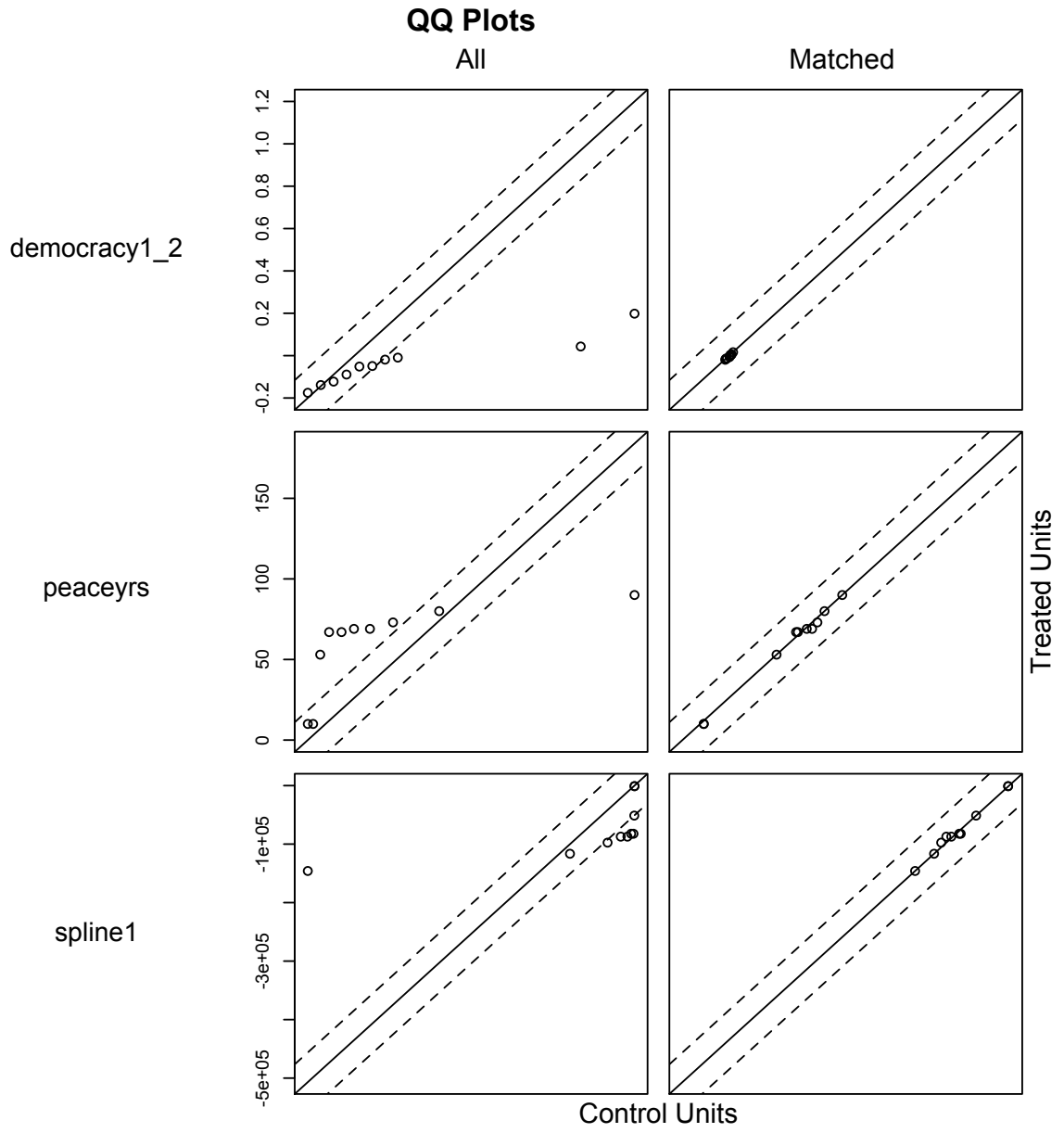


democracy2



Treated Units

Control Units

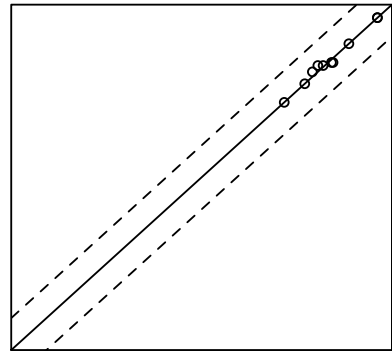
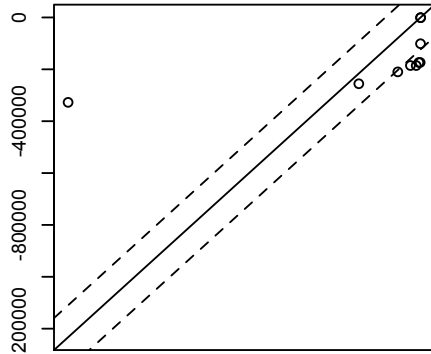


QQ Plots

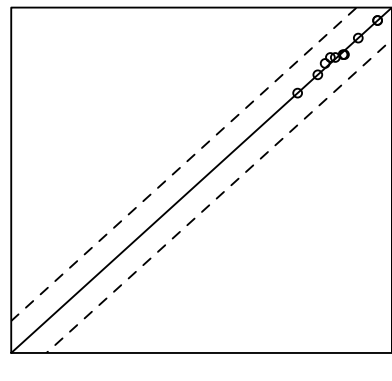
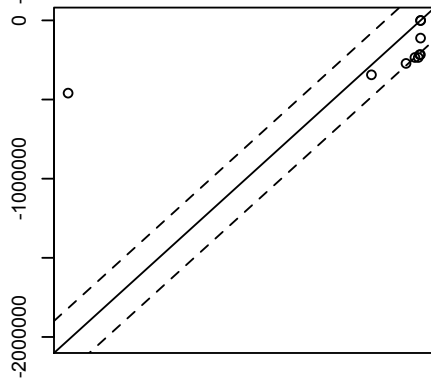
All

Matched

spline2



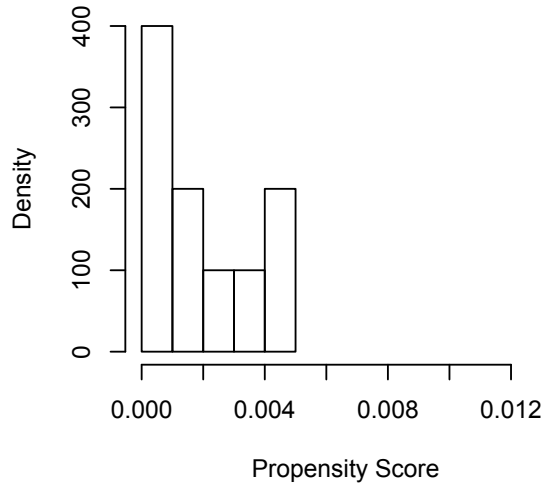
spline3



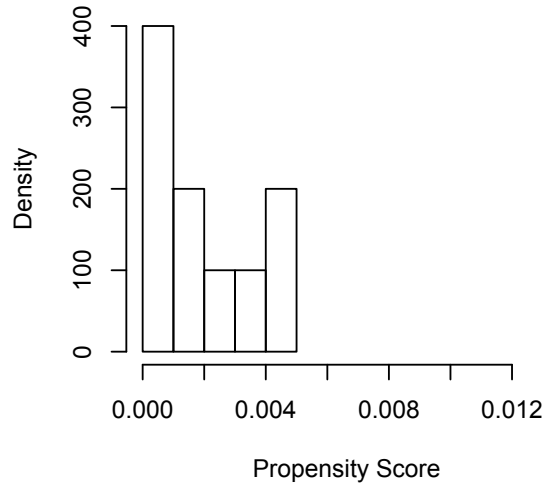
Treated Units

Control Units

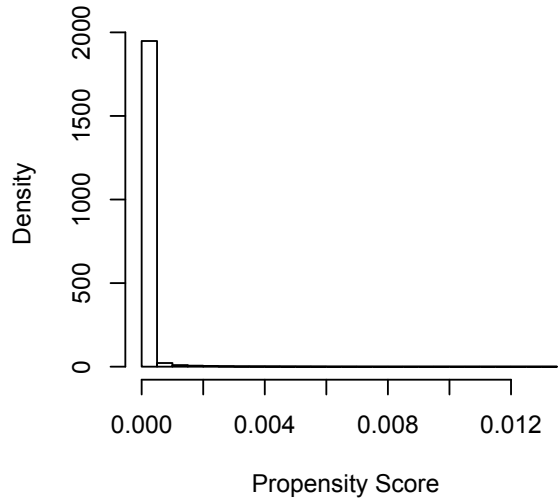
Raw Treated



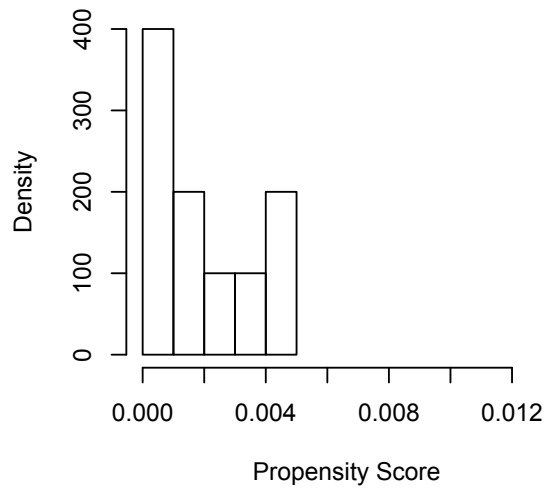
Matched Treated



Raw Control



Matched Control



FAILED COVERT INSTITUTIONAL FIRC: ANALYSIS OF MATCHED DATA

use "/Users/abdownes/Dropbox/O'Rourke Downes FIRC Folder/FIRC and MIDs/Data and Analysis/Matching November 2016/cifircfailmidgenmatchnov16.dta"
 (Written by R.)

ttest cwinit10, by(covinstfircfail)

Two-sample t test with equal variances

Group	Obs	Mean	Std. Err.	Std. Dev.	[95% Conf. Interval]	
0	10	.1	.1	.3162278	-.1262157	.3262157
1	10	.3	.1527525	.4830459	-.0455502	.6455502
combined	20	.2	.0917663	.4103913	.0079309	.3920691
diff		-.2	.1825742		-.5835741	.1835741
diff = mean(0) - mean(1)					t = -1.0954	
Ho: diff = 0					degrees of freedom = 18	

Ha: diff < 0 Ha: diff != 0 Ha: diff > 0
 Pr(T < t) = 0.1439 Pr(|T| > |t|) = 0.2878 Pr(T > t) = 0.8561

ttest midinit_fatal10, by(covinstfircfail)

Two-sample t test with equal variances

Group	Obs	Mean	Std. Err.	Std. Dev.	[95% Conf. Interval]	
0	10	0	0	0	0	0
1	10	.1	.1	.3162278	-.1262157	.3262157
combined	20	.05	.05	.2236068	-.0546512	.1546512
diff		-.1	.1		-.3100922	.1100922
diff = mean(0) - mean(1)					t = -1.0000	
Ho: diff = 0					degrees of freedom = 18	

Ha: diff < 0 Ha: diff != 0 Ha: diff > 0
 Pr(T < t) = 0.1653 Pr(|T| > |t|) = 0.3306 Pr(T > t) = 0.8347

ttest midinit_war10, by(covinstfircfail)

Two-sample t test with equal variances

Group	Obs	Mean	Std. Err.	Std. Dev.	[95% Conf. Interval]	
0	10	0	0	0	0	0
1	10	0	0	0	0	0
combined	20	0	0	0	0	0
diff		0	0		0	0
diff = mean(0) - mean(1)					t = .	
Ho: diff = 0					degrees of freedom = 18	

Ha: diff < 0 Ha: diff != 0 Ha: diff > 0
 Pr(T < t) = . Pr(|T| > |t|) = . Pr(T > t) = .

probit cwinit10 covinstfircfail, robust cluster(dyad_id)

Iteration 0: log pseudolikelihood = -10.008048
 Iteration 1: log pseudolikelihood = -9.3652039
 Iteration 2: log pseudolikelihood = -9.3594746
 Iteration 3: log pseudolikelihood = -9.3594728
 Iteration 4: log pseudolikelihood = -9.3594728

Probit regression
 Log pseudolikelihood = -9.3594728

Number of obs = 20
 Wald chi2(1) = 1.17
 Prob > chi2 = 0.2796
 Pseudo R2 = 0.0648

(Std. Err. adjusted for 20 clusters in dyad_id)

cwinit10	Coef.	Robust Std. Err.	z	P> z	[95% Conf. Interval]	
covinstfircfail	.7571511	.7003175	1.08	0.280	-.6154461	2.129748
_cons	-1.281552	.5546084	-2.31	0.021	-2.368564	-.194539

APPENDIX N: DEFINING COVERT FOREIGN-IMPOSED REGIME CHANGE

The following is an excerpt from Lindsey O'Rourke, "Secrecy and Security: U.S.-Backed Regime Change during the Cold War." (Unpublished Manuscript, 2016).

Regime is used to mean either a state's leadership or its political processes and institutional arrangements.³ *Regime change* refers to an operation to replace another state's effective political leadership by significantly altering the composition of that state's ruling elite, its administrative apparatus, or its institutional structure.⁴ This study focuses only on cases in which an intervening state intends for the target state to retain its juridical sovereignty or, in the case of secessionist movements, to obtain its juridical sovereignty. Consequently, cases of territorial conquest, colonization, or annexation are not included.⁵

Covert regime change denotes an operation to replace the leadership of another state, where the intervening state does not acknowledge its role publicly.⁶ These actions include assassinating foreign leaders; sponsoring coups; manipulating electoral results; and aiding, funding, and arming dissident groups. The study avoids other covert actions not designed to replace a foreign power's leadership—counterintelligence, diplomacy, operational security, and propaganda.⁷ This definition aligns with the U.S. government's classification of covert regime change, first laid out in National Security Council Directive 10/2:

"The National Security Council... has determined that, in the interests of world peace and U.S. national security, the overt foreign activities of the U.S. Government must be supplemented by covert operations... so planned and executed that any U.S. government responsibility for them is not evident to unauthorized persons and if uncovered the U.S. Government can plausibly disclaim any responsibility for them. Specifically, such actions shall include covert activities related to propaganda; economic warfare; preventative direct actions, including sabotage, anti-sabotage, demolition, and evacuation measures; subversion against hostile states, including assistance to underground resistance

³ Easton, Gunnell and Stein find that Political Scientists define "regime" as "consisting of three basic elements: institutions, operational rules of the game, and ideologies (goals, preferred rules, and preferred arrangements among political institutions)." Easton, David, John G. Gunnell, and Michael B. Stein. *Regime and Discipline: Democracy and the Development of Political Science*. (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1995) pp. 8-9.

⁴ Existing studies of regime change have categorized these operations in multiple ways. For instance, Downes (2008, 2010, 2013) differentiates between 1) FIRCs that install new leaders, which he terms 'leadership FIRCs,' 2) operations that reinstall recently deposed leaders, which he terms 'Restoration FIRCs,' and 3) operations to replace the political institutions of the target state, which he terms 'Institutional FIRCs.' My definition of regime change includes all three of these categories. An alternative conceptualization by Saunders (2013) distinguishes between 'transformative' versus 'non-transformative' strategies of intervention. Similar to my definition of regime change, Saunderson's transformative strategies "explicitly aim to interfere in or actively determine the target state's domestic order." (p. 23). However, she continues, "At the national level, one might imagine that leadership change would constitute transformation. As John Owen and others have pointed out, however, institutional change is distinct from changing only the leader or a small group of elites. Thus we cannot assume that regime change is necessarily transformative." (p. 23) My conceptualization of regime change differs from Saunders in this regard. I do consider operations that target only the leadership of the target state without altering the state's underlying political institutions to be a regime change.

⁵ Territorial conquest, colonization, and annexation all imply direct rule by the intervening state. Although a change of government occurs in these scenarios, it is a consequence of the larger political objective to eliminate the target state or incorporate its territory and resources into the intervening state. By contrast, regime change aims to exercise indirect rule over the target state by allowing the target government to retain de jure authority over its territory. As a result, the motives and causal logics behind each type of operation are likely to vary significantly.

⁶ Two types of operations can be described as "covert": 1) operations designed to remain secretive through their planning and implementation phases as well as after completion; and 2) operations designed to maintain operational security and/or enable a surprise attack, but for which the state does not try to conceal its role after completion. This project only concerns the former category.

⁷ Some propaganda efforts involve calls to overthrow a foreign government. However, I exclude these operations from my dataset unless the intervening state also attempted other direct efforts at regime change. American use of anti-communist propaganda during the Cold War was so ubiquitous that including all cases would stretch the definition of "regime change" beyond what I consider reasonable limits. Although both types of operations share similar motives, they differ in their causal logics. What I classify as "regime change" includes operations that support existing efforts to overthrow a foreign government or targets that government directly. By contrast, propaganda works via a more indirect route. It aims to influence the beliefs of a foreign population so that they may then attempt to overthrow their government in the future.

movements, guerrillas, and refugee liberation groups, and support of indigenous anti-communist elements in threatened countries of the free world."⁸

Overt regime change includes operations involving the direct and publicly acknowledged use of military force to replace the political leadership of another state. States sometimes go to war for regime change, but the definition also includes more limited military actions designed to bring about regime change, such as air strikes or limited invasions targeting leadership.

A few definitional caveats before I proceed. First, my dataset excludes efforts to prop up a state's allies through publicly unacknowledged financial or military aid.⁹ For instance, the U.S. reportedly provided covert support to the Saudi royal family during the Cold War to help them maintain their position of power and stability in the region.¹⁰ Although, actions of this nature are similar to covert regime change in that they strive to influence the domestic political system of a foreign power, they differ from regime change in that they seek to maintain the status quo rather than revising it. Consequently, I believe covert actions of this nature are better classified as regime maintenance. Although I believe that the United States likely conducted many of its covert regime maintenance operations for similar motives as its covert regime changes, I have limited the scope of this project to the latter category for both theoretical and practical reasons.

There is also the question of how to differentiate covert operations to influence the result of a foreign election from regime maintenance efforts. During the Cold War, for instance, the United States sought to covertly guarantee that their preferred candidate would win a democratic election in over a dozen countries. Most of these cases do not pose a definitional challenge for this project because Washington's covert efforts were designed to upend the status quo. (Either the United States was trying to bring a new leader to power via the election or they were trying to influence the first democratic election in a country after it underwent a power transition from another system of government.) However, in five cases—Italy (twice), France, Japan, and Chile—the U.S. conducted operations to ensure that a ruling party would continue to win elections and thus remain in power. One potential objection is that these cases are better considered examples of regime maintenance and therefore should be excluded from my sample. Nevertheless, I decided to include these cases for two reasons. First, I believe that free and fair democratic elections are, by their nature, pre-scheduled opportunities for regime change. Trying to covertly ensure that a democratic leader stays in power by winning an election is different than trying to ensure that an authoritarian leader stays in power, because authoritarian leaders face no prescheduled challenges to their rule. Second, these cases provide a noteworthy exception to one of the main claims of this study—that covert regime changes are most likely to succeed against weak, geo-strategically unimportant states and that many operations spark anti-American blowback and resentment. In four of these five cases—U.S. operations in Italy, France, and Japan—the actions succeeded against powerful, important states with few negative repercussions for Washington. In the spirit of transparency, it is therefore important that I include these cases because failing to do so would bias the data in my favor.

Finally, in contrast to some studies, my dataset focuses on target countries rather than individual operations. For example, the U.S. supported three separate coups in short succession during its efforts to overthrow Guatemala in 1954. While some datasets list these coups as separate events, this study treats them as a single covert campaign. Similar to this is the fact that the U.S. often pursued more than one covert tactic simultaneously against the same state. For instance, during eight years of covert operations against Cuba in the 1960s, U.S. leaders authorized multiple assassination attempts against Fidel Castro as part of a plan known as Operation Mongoose, as well as the Bay of Pigs paramilitary invasion. This study groups them together as one eight-year case rather than multiple independent operations. I believe that analyzing covert "campaigns" rather than independent missions is preferable because states frequently launch more than one operation simultaneously, and treating these actions as independent overlooks the fact that they often have mutually reinforcing effects on one another.

⁸ National Security Council Directive 10/2 (May 12, 1948). "Draft Report by the National Security Council" available as Document 274 in *FRUS 1945-1950: Emergence of the Intelligence Establishment*. (U.S. Department of State, Office of the Historian).

⁹ Owen, John M., and Roger G. Herbert. "Intervention and Regime Change." In *Emerging Trends in the Social and Behavioral Sciences*. (John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 2015). See Berger et. Al (2013) for a study combining regime change and regime maintenance efforts.

¹⁰ Berger et al. (2013).

APPENDIX O: LIST OF VARIABLES IN THE ANALYSIS, WITH DESCRIPTION AND SUMMARY STATISTICS

Table O1: Variables in the Primary Analysis

Variable Label	Description	Mean	SD	Min	Max
ccode1	Country code, state A	-	-	-	-
ccode2	Country code, state B	-	-	-	-
year	Year	-	-	-	-
abbrev1	Country abbreviation, state A	-	-	-	-
abbrev2	Country abbreviation, state B	-	-	-	-
dyad_id	Dyad identification number	-	-	-	-
cwinit	MID initiation by state A	.0118	.1078	0	1
ovfirc10	Overt FIRC, up to 10 years after FIRC occurs	.0083	.0908	0	1
ovleaderfirc10	Overt leadership FIRC, 10 yrs	.0032	.0562	0	1
ovinstfirc10	Overt institutional FIRC, 10 yrs	.0016	.0397	0	1
ovrestfirc10	Overt restoration FIRC, 10 yrs	.0037	.0605	0	1
covertfirc	Ongoing covert FIRC	.0032	.0563	0	1
covfirc10	Covert FIRC, up to 10 yrs after end of operation	.0059	.0766	0	1
covleaderfirc10	Covert leadership FIRC, 10 yrs	.0047	.0686	0	1
covinstfirc10	Covert institutional FIRC, 10 yrs	.0010	.0311	0	1
covfirsucc10	Successful covert FIRC, 10 yrs	.0026	.0509	0	1
covfircfail10	Failed covert FIRC, 10 yrs	.0034	.0584	0	1
covleadfirsucc10	Successful covert leadership FIRC, 10 yrs	.0020	.0444	0	1
covinstfirsucc10	Successful covert institutional FIRC, 10 yrs	.0006	.0235	0	1
covleadfircfail10	Failed covert leadership FIRC, 10 yrs	.0028	.0525	0	1
covinstfircfail10	Failed covert institutional FIRC, 10 yrs	.0005	.0223	0	1
cap_1	CINC score, state A	.0426	.0648	0	.3839
cap_2	CINC score, state B	.0426	.0648	0	.3839
capshare_1	State A's share of dyadic material capabilities	.5	.4159	0	1
s_wt_glo	Weighted global S score	.5212	.3419	-.6077	1
s_ld_1	S score with system leader, state A	.5562	.2635	-.1877	1
s_ld_2	S score with system leader, state B	.5562	.2635	-.1877	1
lndistance	Log of distance between capital cities	5.4272	3.9195	0	9.3918
democracy1	Democracy, state A	.3950	.4889	0	1
democracy2	Democracy, state B	.3950	.4889	0	1
democracy1_2	Both states democratic	.1943	.3956	0	1
peaceyrs	Years since last MID in dyad	32.1252	32.0083	0	184
spline1	Cubic spline 1	-35626.61	67382.33	-506880	0
spline2	Cubic spline 2	-75850.22	158496.1	-1233144	0
spline3	Cubic spline 3	-102542.8	243443.5	-2020365	0

Table O2: Variables for Robustness Tests

ovfire5	Overt FIRC, 5 years	.0044	.0660	0	1
ovleaderfire5	Overt leadership FIRC, 5 yrs	.0017	.0409	0	1
ovinstfire5	Overt institutional FIRC, 5 yrs	.0008	.0283	0	1
ovrestfire5	Overt restoration FIRC, 5 yrs	.0019	.0440	0	1
ovfirecall	Overt FIRC, permanent effect	.0455	.2083	0	1
ovleaderfirecall	Overt leadership FIRC, permanent effect	.0207	.1422	0	1
ovinstfirecall	Overt institutional FIRC, permanent effect	.0071	.0840	0	1
ovrestfirecall	Overt restoration FIRC, permanent effect	.0198	.1391	0	1
covfire5	Covert FIRC, 5 yrs	.0031	.0555	0	1
covleaderfire5	Covert leadership FIRC, 5 yrs	.0025	.0498	0	1
covinstfire5	Covert institutional FIRC, 5 yrs	.0005	.0223	0	1
covfiresucc5	Successful covert FIRC, 5 yrs	.0014	.0371	0	1
covfirefail5	Failed covert FIRC, 5 yrs	.0018	.0421	0	1
covleadfiresucc5	Successful covert leadership FIRC, 5 yrs	.0010	.0323	0	1
covinstfiresucc5	Successful covert institutional FIRC, 5 yrs	.0003	.0166	0	1
covleadfirefail5	Failed covert leadership FIRC, 5 yrs	.0014	.0379	0	1
covinstfirefail5	Failed covert institutional FIRC, 5 yrs	.0002	.0158	0	1
covfirecall	Covert FIRC, permanent effect	.0157	.1242	0	1
covleaderfirecall	Covert leadership FIRC, permanent effect	.0141	.1181	0	1
covinstfirecall	Covert institutional FIRC, permanent effect	.0017	.0406	0	1
covfiresuccall	Successful covert FIRC, permanent effect	.0066	.0808	0	1
covfirefailall	Failed covert FIRC, permanent effect	.0097	.0980	0	1
covleadfiresuccall	Successful covert leadership FIRC, permanent effect	.0059	.0764	0	1
covinstfiresuccall	Successful covert institutional FIRC, permanent effect	.0008	.0290	0	1
covleadfirefailall	Failed covert leadership FIRC, permanent effect	.0086	.0922	0	1
covinstfirefailall	Failed covert institutional FIRC, permanent effect	.0009	.0303	0	1
ovdmzfire10	Overt democratization FIRC, 10 yrs	.0014	.0370	0	1
ovdmzfire5	Overt democratization FIRC, 5 yrs	.0007	.0265	0	1
ovleaderfire10dmz	Overt leadership FIRC, autocratic institutional FIRCs counted as leadership FIRCs, 10 yrs	.0035	.0591	0	1
ovleaderfire5dmz	Overt leadership FIRC, autocratic institutional FIRCs counted as leadership FIRCs, 5 yrs	.0018	.0429	0	1
allydum	Formal alliance between states A and B	.1741	.3792	0	1
midinit_fatal	MID of hostlev==4 or 5 initiated by state A	.0085	.0916	0	1
midinit_war	MID of hostlev==5 initiated by state A	.0008	.0290	0	1
ag_source_ik	Spatial contagion variable	.0078	.0016	.0054	.0104
ag_source_ki	Spatial contagion variable	.0078	.0016	.0054	.0104
ag_source_im	Spatial contagion variable	.0071	.0026	.0035	.0113
ag_source_mi	Spatial contagion variable	.0071	.0026	.0035	.0113
ag_target_jm	Spatial contagion variable	.0070	.0024	.0035	.0108
ag_target_mj	Spatial contagion variable	.0070	.0024	.0035	.0108

ag_target_jk	Spatial contagion variable	.0080	.0018	.0054	.0110
ag_target_kj	Spatial contagion variable	.0080	.0018	.0054	.0110

APPENDIX P: CORRELATION MATRIX OF KEY INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

corr ovleaderfirc10 ovinstfirc10 ovrestfirc10 covleaderfirc10 covinstfirc10 cap_1 cap_2 capshare_1 s_wt_glo s_ld_1 s_ld_2 lndistance
democracy1 democracy2 democracy1_2 peaceyrs
(obs=180498)

	ovlea~10	ovins~10	ovres~10	covlea..	covins..	cap_1	cap_2	capsha~1	s_wt_glo	s_ld_1	s_ld_2	lndist~e	democr~1
ovleaderf~10	1.0000												
ovinstfirc10	0.0424	1.0000											
ovrestfirc10	0.0031	-0.0024	1.0000										
covleader~10	-0.0039	0.0339	0.0012	1.0000									
covinst~rc10	-0.0018	-0.0012	0.0216	0.0186	1.0000								
cap_1	0.0037	0.0346	0.0257	0.0599	0.0166	1.0000							
cap_2	0.0042	0.0341	0.0255	0.0599	0.0145	-0.2409	1.0000						
capshare_1	-0.0007	0.0002	0.0001	0.0000	0.0010	0.6165	-0.6165	1.0000					
s_wt_glo	0.0132	0.0101	0.0131	-0.0894	-0.0115	-0.2813	-0.2813	-0.0000	1.0000				
s_ld_1	0.0141	-0.0103	0.0096	0.0284	0.0305	0.2331	-0.0119	0.1394	-0.0326	1.0000			
s_ld_2	0.0144	-0.0103	0.0097	0.0284	0.0285	-0.0119	0.2331	-0.1394	-0.0326	0.4391	1.0000		
lndistance	-0.0385	-0.0086	-0.0325	0.0459	0.0213	0.2340	0.2355	-0.0007	-0.5086	0.1281	0.1275	1.0000	
democracy1	-0.0105	0.0093	0.0150	0.0252	0.0284	0.0649	-0.1198	0.1770	-0.0833	0.2711	-0.0613	0.0909	1.0000
democracy2	-0.0097	0.0090	0.0150	0.0252	0.0269	-0.1198	0.0649	-0.1770	-0.0833	-0.0613	0.2711	0.0901	0.1599
democracy1_2	-0.0152	0.0157	0.0364	-0.0081	0.0364	-0.0554	-0.0554	-0.0000	0.0699	0.1278	0.1278	-0.0149	0.6076
peaceyrs	-0.0180	-0.0243	0.0111	0.0027	0.0204	-0.0277	0.0104	-0.0304	-0.0483	0.1208	0.1270	0.0582	0.1512
		democr~y2	democr~_2	peaceyrs									
democracy2		1.0000											
democracy1_2		0.6076	1.0000										
peaceyrs		0.1673	0.1987	1.0000									

Table Q2: Cases of Covert Foreign-Imposed Regime Change by the United States during the Cold War

Years	Country	Type	Regime Objective Achieved?
1979-1989	Afghanistan	Leadership	Yes
1949-1954	Albania	Leadership	No
1975-1976	Angola	Leadership	No
1986-1988	Angola	Leadership	No
1963-1965	Bolivia	Leadership	Yes
1971	Bolivia	Leadership	Yes
1964	Brazil	Leadership	Yes
1949-1954	Bulgaria	Leadership	No
1982-1989	Cambodia	Leadership	No
1981-1982	Chad	Leadership	Yes
1962-1973	Chile	Leadership	Yes
1984-1989	Chile	Institutional	Yes
1949-1968	China	Leadership	No
1960	Congo	Leadership	Yes
1960-1961	Cuba	Leadership	No
1962-1968	Cuba	Leadership	No
1949-1954	Czechoslovakia	Leadership	No
1960-1962	Dominican Republic	Leadership	Yes
1965-1968	Dominican Republic	Institutional	Yes
1949-1954	East Germany*	Leadership	No
1981-1983	Ethiopia	Leadership	No
1947-1952	France	Leadership	Yes
1979	Grenada	Not coded	No
1952-1954	Guatemala	Leadership	Yes
1966-1971	Guyana	Not coded	Yes
1963	Haiti	Leadership	No
1966-1969	Haiti	Leadership	No
1986-1988	Haiti	Institutional	No
1949-1956	Hungary	Leadership	No
1954-1958	Indonesia	Leadership	No
1952-1953	Iran	Leadership	Yes
1959-1963	Iraq	Leadership	Yes
1972-1975	Iraq	Leadership	No
1947-1952	Italy	Leadership	Yes
1965-1968	Italy	Leadership	Yes
1952-1968	Japan	Leadership	Yes
1961-1973	Laos	Leadership	No
1957-1958	Lebanon	Leadership	Yes
1983-1989	Liberia	Institutional	No
1982-1989	Libya	Leadership	No
1979-1980	Nicaragua#	Institutional	No
1979-1989	Nicaragua	Institutional	Yes
1950-1955	North Korea	Leadership	No
1961-1964	North Vietnam	Leadership	No
1987-1989	Panama	Leadership	No
1986-1989	Philippines	Institutional	Yes
1949-1954	Poland	Leadership	No
1981-1989	Poland	Institutional	Yes
1949-1954	Romania	Leadership	No
1964-1967	Somalia	Leadership	No
1963	South Vietnam	Leadership	Yes
1967	South Vietnam	Leadership	Yes

1979-1983	South Yemen	Leadership	No
1949-1954	Soviet Union+	Leadership	No
1982-1985	Suriname	Institutional	No
1955-1957	Syria	Leadership	No
1965	Thailand	Institutional	No

* East Germany is not coded as an independent state until 1954.

+ Multiple covert operations were directed at different Soviet republics during this period, including the Belorussian, Estonian, Latvian, Lithuanian, Russian, and Ukrainian SSRs.

Nicaragua is coded as two cases because the operation changed type—from hegemonic to offensive—in 1980. The first is coded as a failure, ending in 1980, whereas the second is coded as a success, ending in 1989. On these types of covert FIRC, see Lindsey O'Rourke, "Secrecy and Security: U.S.-Backed Regime Change during the Cold War" (Unpublished Manuscript, 2016).

APPENDIX R. INSTANCES OF FIRC FOLLOWED BY MIDS

Table R1. MIDs between Interveners and Targets within Ten Years of Overt Leadership FIRC, 1816-2000

Perpetrator of FIRC	Target of FIRC	Year of MID
United States (i)	Mexico	1915
United States (i)	Mexico	1916
United States	Mexico (i)	1918
United States (i)	Mexico	1919
United States (i)	Nicaragua	1910
Guatemala (i)	El Salvador	1885
United Kingdom (i)	Greece	1922
United Kingdom (i)	Iran	1946
United Kingdom (i)	Iran	1951
France (i)	Greece	1922
Germany (i)	France (i)	1871
Italy (i)	Albania	1918
Italy (i)	Albania	1920
Italy (i)	Albania	1952
Romania (i)	Hungary	1922
Russia (i)	Iran	1945
Russia	Iran (i)	1951
Russia (i)	Afghanistan	1993
Russia (i)	Afghanistan	1994
Rwanda	DRC (i)	1998
Japan (i)	China	1931
Japan (i)	China	1933
Japan	China (i)	1934
Japan (i)	China	1935
Japan	China (i)	1936
Japan (i)	China	1937

Countries followed by (i) indicate that the country initiated the dispute (in 1871, Germany and France are each coded as initiating a MID against the other).

Table R2. MIDs between Interveners and Targets within Ten Years of Overt Institutional FIRC, 1816-2000

Intervener	Target	Year of MID
United States (i)	Dominican Republic	1914
United States (i)	Dominican Republic	1916

Countries followed by (i) indicate that the country initiated the dispute.

Table R3. MIDs between Interveners and Targets within Ten Years of Overt Restoration FIRC, 1816-2000

Intervener	Target	Year of MID
Spain (i)	Portugal	1840

Countries followed by (i) indicate that the country initiated the dispute.

Table R4. MIDs between the United States and Targets within Ten Years of Covert Leadership FIRC

Target of FIRC	Year of MID
Cuba (t)	1962
Cuba *	1971
Cuba (i)	1974
Cuba (t)	1975
Cuba (t)	1976
Cuba (i)	1977
German Democratic Republic (t)	1958
Czechoslovakia (t)	1957
Russia (i)	1958
Russia (t)	1960
Russia *	1961
Russia (t)	1962
Russia (i)	1963
Russia *	1964
Libya (t)	1996
Afghanistan (t)	1998
China (t)	1969
China (t)	1971
China (t)	1972
DPRK (i)	1958
DPRK (i)	1962
DPRK (i)	1963
DPRK (t)	1964
DPRK (i)	1965
Guatemala (i)	1958
Albania (i)	1958

Countries followed by (i) indicate that the country initiated the dispute.

Countries followed by (t) indicate that the country was targeted in the dispute.

Cases marked with an asterisk (*) indicate that both countries initiated a MID against the other in the same year.

Table R5. MIDs between the United States and Targets within Ten Years of Covert Institutional FIRC

Target of FIRC	Year of MID
Haiti (t)	1993
Liberia (t)	1998

Countries followed by (i) indicate that the country initiated the dispute.

Countries followed by (t) indicate that the country was targeted in the dispute.